



**FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE**

JPRS Report

Subscribers: Please see important notice inside.

Near East & South Asia

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

NOTICE

Effective 3 January 1995, FBIS will no longer publish the Near East and South Asia JPRS Report (JPRS-NEA). Material currently appearing in this report will be published in the Near East and South Asia Daily Report (FBIS-NES).

U.S. GOVERNMENT SUBSCRIBERS currently receiving the Near East and South Asia JPRS Report will be sent the Near East and South Asia Daily Report. U.S. Government customers, including Department of Defense personnel, who do NOT wish to receive the Near East and South Asia Daily Report or wish to adjust the number of reports they receive should notify FBIS by fax at (703) 733-6042 or by phone at (202) 338-6735.

NONGOVERNMENT SUBSCRIBERS will be notified by mail in the coming weeks by the National Technical Information Service (NTIS) regarding pricing and ordering information for the Near East and South Asia Daily Report. For immediate details call NTIS at (703) 487-4630.

Near East & South Asia

JPRS-NEA-94-059

CONTENTS

30 December 1994

NEAR EAST

Regional Affairs

- Russian Deputy Foreign Minister on Recent Gulf Crisis [London AL-HAYAH 13 Nov] 1

Palestinian Affairs

- Labor Minister Interviewed [AL-SINNARAH 28 Oct 94] 2
 Commentary Questions Peace Process [AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI 29 Oct 94] 4
 Security Chief Yusuf Interviewed [London AL-MAJALLAH 4 Dec] 4

Algeria

- Haddam Discusses U.S. Policy Issues [London AL-MAJALLAH 29 Oct] 6
 Mehri Discusses Dialogue, FIS, Berbers [London AL-MAJALLAH 19 Nov] 7
 Background Sketch on Benhadj's Role in Split [London AL-MAJALLAH 27 Nov] 12
 Divisions Within the Military Discussed [London AL-MAJALLAH 27 Nov] 13
 Sadi Discusses Rome, AMU, Presidential Elections [LE SOIR D'ALGERIE 28 Nov] 16
 Boukhamkham, Jedi Discuss Dialogue, Elections [London FILASTIN AL-MUSLIMAH 1 Dec] 19

Iraq

- Alleged Support by French Cabinet for Iraqi Position [Paris AL-MUHARRIR 31 Oct] 23
 Report on Construction, Size of Communication Towers [ALIF BA' 2 Nov] 23
 Sharp Rising Prices Subject of Editorial [AL-JUMHURIYAH 6 Nov] 25
 French Conference Calls for Lifting of Sanctions [Paris AL-MUHARRIR 7 Nov] 25
 Iraqi News Agency Celebrates 35th Anniversary [ALIF BA' 9 Nov] 26
 American-French Conflict on Iraq Called Obvious [AL-JUMHURIYAH 12 Nov] 28

Jordan

- Information Minister on Israel Agreement [London AL-HAWADITH 4 Nov] 29

Morocco

- Interior Minister Asks for European Aid in Drug War [MAROC SOIR 2 Dec] 30

United Arab Emirates

- Al-Shariqah Conference on Uprooted Muslim Women Held [AL-KHALIJ 13 Nov] 33
 Uprooted Muslim Women's Issues Addressed at Conference [AL-KHALIJ 14 Nov] 36
 Conference Recommends Action on Uprooted Muslim Women [AL-KHALIJ 15 Nov] 37

SOUTH ASIA

India

- Samata National Executive Meets, Resolutions Told [THE TIMES OF INDIA 3 Nov] 39
 Official Report on State of Economy Released [THE TIMES OF INDIA 3 Nov] 39
 Objectives of Kashmir Department Enumerated [THE STATESMAN 5 Nov] 40
 Ministry Reports Widening of Trade Deficit [THE SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA 6 Nov] 40
 Marxist-Leninist Group Recognized as Party [THE TIMES OF INDIA 8 Nov] 41
 Commissioner Says Kashmir Not Ready for Polls [THE STATESMAN 8 Nov] 42

Russian Team Cuts Visit to India Short	[DECCAN CHRONICLE 8 Nov]	42
Nambiar Returns From Moscow, No Pacts Signed	[THE TIMES OF INDIA 8 Nov]	43
Election Commission Clarifies Code of Conduct	[THE TIMES OF INDIA 9 Nov]	43
Tamil Nadu Assembly Postpones Elections	[DECCAN CHRONICLE 9 Nov]	44
High-Level Foreign Policy Review, Statement Issued	[DECCAN CHRONICLE 11 Nov]	44
Officials Comment on OIC Move, Other Matters		45
Khurshid to UNI	[DECCAN CHRONICLE 11 Nov]	45
Khurshid TV Interview	[DECCAN CHRONICLE 11 Nov]	46
Bengal Opening to Foreign Investment Analyzed		46
Industrialization Needed	[SAPTAAHIK BARTAMAN 12 Nov]	46
Capital Investment Badly Needed	[SAPTAAHIK BARTAMAN 12 Nov]	49
British Capital Welcome	[ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA 15 Nov]	52
Reevaluation of Kashmir Policy Urged	[RAJASTHAN PATRIKA 15 Nov]	52
Mulayam Singh Attempts to Throttle Press Scored	[JANSATTA 15 Nov]	53
Dalai Lama Said Continued Thorn to Chinese Leaders	[JANSATTA 15 Nov]	54
Papers Report Continuing Danger in Punjab		56
Border 'A Hot Spot'	[THE TIMES OF INDIA 16 Nov]	56
Khalistan Proponents Activities	[THE TIMES OF INDIA 25 Nov]	57
Manipur PLA-Khalistan Council Ties	[THE STATESMAN 16 Nov]	58
Tiwari Opposition to Mulayam Government Intensifies	[JANSATTA 16 Nov]	58
Papers Report on Satellite Developments		59
Conference on Remote Sensing	[THE TIMES OF INDIA 19 Nov]	59
Plans, Studies Described	[DECCAN CHRONICLE 23 Nov]	60
Government Population Control Program Faulted	[JANSATTA 20 Nov]	61
Pakistani Air Marshal Statements Seen Inflammatory	[PUNJAB KESARI 20 Nov]	63
Kashmiri Affairs Department Creation Praised	[PUNJAB KESARI 20 Nov]	64
Center Extends Ban on Northeast Militants	[THE SUNDAY STATESMAN 20 Nov]	65
Congress Party Squabbles in Madhya Pradesh Viewed	[JANSATTA 21 Nov]	65
Life of Exiled Bangladeshi Writer Viewed	PUNJAB KESARI 22 Nov	66
Singh Meets With Industrialists, GATT Discussed	[THE STATESMAN 24 Nov]	67
New Process for Extracting Metals Developed	[THE TIMES OF INDIA 24 Nov]	68
New Army Chief Takes Office, Talks With Newsmen	[THE TIMES OF INDIA 24 Nov]	68
Election Commission Recognizes Samata Party	[THE TIMES OF INDIA 25 Nov]	69
Paper Interviews Indian Official on IMF Board	[THE TIMES OF INDIA 25 Nov]	69
Spokesman Discusses Activities in UN	[THE TIMES OF INDIA 25 Nov]	70
Analyst Scores Policy of Nuclear Deterrence	[THE STATESMAN 25 Nov]	71
Writs on Foreign Media Entry Go to Supreme Court	[THE STATESMAN 25 Nov]	73
Papers Report Developments in Kashmir		74
Rebels Reject Division	[THE STATESMAN 26 Nov]	74
Early Elections Ruled Out	[DECCAN CHRONICLE 26 Nov]	74
Tohra Reelected Chief of Gurudwara Prabhandak	[THE TIMES OF INDIA 26 Nov]	74
ISI Said Behind Widespread Terror, Violence		75
Power, Influence Increasing	[JANSATTA 27 Nov]	75
Infamous Past, Active Present	[JANSATTA 27 Nov]	77
No Ideological Document Prior to CPI-M Congress	[THE SUNDAY STATESMAN 27 Nov]	78
Compensation for Bhopal Victims Reported, Scored		79
Commissioner's Press Conference	[THE TIMES OF INDIA 28 Nov]	79
Relief Termed Inadequate	[THE TIMES OF INDIA 28 Nov]	79
Apathy Toward Victims	[THE TIMES OF INDIA 1 Dec]	80
Foreign Secretary Meets Press, Expresses Concerns	[DECCAN CHRONICLE 1 Dec]	81
Joint Border Patrol Seen as Threat to Security	[THE TIMES OF INDIA 1 Dec]	82
Progress in Defense Research Deemed Slow	[THE TIMES OF INDIA 2 Dec]	83
Reportage on Government Change in Nepal		83
Adhikari Policy Analyzed	[THE TIMES OF INDIA 2 Dec]	83
Envoy Recall Rejected	[THE TIMES OF INDIA 2 Dec]	84
CPI-M 'Revitalized'	[THE SUNDAY STATESMAN 20 Nov]	85
Paper Reports Developments in Navy		86
Decline Predicted	[THE TIMES OF INDIA 2 Dec]	86
Command Appointments Announced	[THE TIMES OF INDIA 2 Dec]	86

Iran

Abrand-Abady Editorial on Weak Statistics [RESALAT 22 Nov]	87
Principle Place of Industry in Second Five-Year Plan [RESALAT 24 Nov]	88
RESALAT Reports on Prices of Goods [RESALAT 26 Nov]	90
Retail Value of Some Consumer Goods Given [RESALAT 3 Dec]	92
Prices Must Be Set by Producers, Distributors [RESALAT 4 Dec]	93
Five New Cooperatives To Be Established This Year [RESALAT 4 Dec]	94
Most Construction Done by Unskilled Workers [RESALAT 4 Dec]	95
Finance Minister on Oil Production, Statistics [London AL-HAYAH 5 Dec]	95

Pakistan

Editorial Cites Spread of Perversion, Vulgarly [JASARAT 18 Oct]	95
Opposition, Government Urged To Dialogue [AMN 22 Oct]	96
Religion-Based Parties Said Uniting [HURMAT 23 Oct]	96
Incidents Involving F-16s Recounted [JASARAT 23 Oct]	97
Christians Claimed Used in Anti-Islamic Conspiracy [JASARAT 26 Oct]	97
New Policy Urged in Sindh [JASARAT 27 Oct]	99
Alam Beg Proposal for New Party Ridiculed [HURMAT 27 Oct]	100
Government Economic Performance Reviewed [JANG 28 Oct]	100
Economic, Financial Reforms Praised [MASHRIQ 28 Oct]	101
Mumtaz Bhutto Opposition to New Province Criticized [AMN 1 Nov]	102
MQM Leader Call for New Province Criticized [MASHRIQ 1 Nov]	103
U.S. Investment Seen Risky, Threatening [AMN 3 Nov]	104
U.S. Investments Said 'Fraudulent' [TAKBEER 3 Nov]	105
'Terrorists' Said to Roam Freely in Karachi [JASARAT 3 Nov]	106
Demand for Separate Mohajir Province Examined [JANG 4 Nov]	106
Public Said to Want Sharia Laws Enforced [JASARAT 5 Nov]	108
Punjab Politics Seen Rancous, Chaotic [JANG 7 Nov]	108
Commentary Calls For Creation of Nine Provinces [JANG 8 Nov]	109
Government Entry into Private Homes Condemned [MAN 12 Nov]	110
Business Community Said Worried Over Karachi Violence [JASARAT 2 Nov]	111
Disrespect Said Shown Between PML(N), ANP [AKHBAR-E-JEHAN 13 Nov]	111
Raphel Visit, American Foreign Policy Viewed [MASHRIQ 17 Nov]	112
Malakand: Government Suppression Condemned [TAKBEER 17 Nov]	113
Discontent in Malakand Said Spreading [JASARAT 18 Nov]	114
Impact of Disorder on Karachi's Business Examined [JANG 18 Nov]	116
Need for Islamic Laws Emphasized [JANG 19 Nov]	118
Corruption Seen Widespread in Balochistan [AKHBAR-E-JEHAN 21 Nov]	118
Punjab: Political Confrontations Increase [JANG 21 Nov]	120
Sharif Chastised for Giving Army Advise [JANG 27 Nov]	121

Regional Affairs

Russian Deputy Foreign Minister on Recent Gulf Crisis

95LH0056A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 13 Nov 94 p 15

[Article by Viktor Posuvalyuk, Russian president's special envoy for Middle East affairs and director of Russian Foreign Ministry's Middle East and North Africa Department]

[FBIS Translated Text] I think that Iraq's recent step in recognizing Kuwait and its sovereignty over its territory sums up the purpose of this article, which I have written to explain the initiative we undertook during the recent Gulf crisis.

The move to recognize, however, remains part of a wider process, as I understand it. I think that the emotional storm raised around the Gulf crisis, caused by Iraq's maneuvers in the south near the Kuwaiti borders, has now calmed down. Therefore, a possibility and need arises for a calm discussion on what has happened and what could have happened, and on the drama that went on behind the new scene, a drama that has not ended yet and that began with Iraq's occupation of Kuwait in August 1990.

Russia's actions, particularly the visits paid to Iraq by First Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov and Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, have caused immediate sharp reactions. There were contradictory reactions, including many positive ones. There were also hasty and even nervous comments and occasional criticisms. I also heard voices asking: How could Russia present its own initiative? I am confident that these transient shadows and scenes have generally become something of the past, and instead of misunderstanding, efforts have again been made for interaction and cooperation. I should note that during his tour, the Russian foreign minister was in constant touch with his American counterpart and the foreign ministers of Britain, France, China, and other large countries.

Let me begin with Iraq's maneuvers. Russian has condemned them and clearly said in a statement it issued that "the language of ultimatums addressed to Kuwait and other states is rejected."

I will now move on to the motives of Moscow's political course in those days. These motives were sometimes misinterpreted in a way that distorted the truth and was inappropriate in essence. The most common misinterpretation was one that claimed that Moscow's only concern was to get back from Baghdad debts estimated at a few billion [no currency specified] as soon as possible. These billions were being cited in one article after another and constituted the main theme of commentaries and commentators. They said that Kozyrev went to Baghdad motivated by a desire to obtain all these billions as soon as possible.

I think, this was a superficial assumption regarding the motives that prompted the Russian leadership and the minister himself to undertake this extremely complex tour. The matter was much more delicate and sensitive. Russia is a big power that shoulders a responsibility for security in this volatile and geographically close area. It is not a remote area that makes it possible for us to disregard the political games that take place in it. It is an area close to our southern borders. The effects of what happens there are clearly felt in our political life, including our domestic life. Therefore, our primary task was to safeguard security by shifting the efforts to the political sphere. I will go further and say that during our long talks in Baghdad, we did not discuss the debts issue, because more burning issues that demanded an immediate solution were on the agenda.

Naturally, Iraq's debt to Russia is a matter of national interest. We are not disregarding it. We will try to ensure the necessary conditions to guarantee that Russia is paid back. However, this is not our primary motive right now. The main motive is to ensure security and stability. The existence of a permanent smoldering or burning fire near our borders is damaging to us.

The superficiality in reading our motives appears also in the light of the establishment and development of relations between Russia and the Gulf states as a counterbalance to the development of relations with Iraq and the repayment of the debts at some stage after the sanctions. I note here that these relations are producing tangible material results now. I would like to note in particular that Moscow is currently making comprehensive and detailed preparations for the tour Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin will make to the Gulf soon. In other words, we have something on this axis that we are proud of and do not want to lose. Still, I do not want one axis to conflict with the other. If we talk about the future, Russia is a vast country, and hence its interest in maintaining an open-door policy toward the promising and rich Gulf area.

I will now discuss the results of the foreign minister's visit. I am confident that no one can prove to me that the results that Kozyrev achieved in Baghdad were not vital nor that they were essentially negative. The official statement issued following the meeting with the Iraqi president clearly and officially referred, for the first time, to Iraq's readiness to positively resolve the question of the recognition of Kuwait's sovereignty and borders, according to UN Security Council resolution 833. I stress—according to Resolution 833. There is no doubt in the mind of any objective analyst that this represented genuine progress. In addition, Iraq should announce this officially. Russia has made and will make efforts in this regard, too. The radio and television stations in Baghdad interrupted their programs to relay the joint statement. The Iraqis, for the first time, heard such an explicit statement about their leaders' readiness to recognize Kuwait as an independent state and not the 19th Iraqi province.

A question is often asked, as an innuendo to Russia: Do you trust Iraq when you carry out your policy, and what are your justifications? I think the way the question is worded is not sound. Confidence in politics is something that has a utopian sense, unless it is backed by practical measures like those laid down and implemented in Europe within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation.

Following the known events, the UN Security Council's resolutions have placed Iraq under extremely severe restrictions, in which it is still confined. The Security Council has forced Iraq to consistently implement the series of resolutions, including those pertaining to the liquidation of military programs, the weapons of mass destruction, missiles, and so forth. In this sense, I think that long-term monitoring is an effective and reliable means of supervision, particularly as it would take place against the background of extensive work conducted in the past years by highly qualified UN experts, using the most modern technology. In addition to monitoring, pressure must be exerted on Baghdad (and Russia was among the first to exert such pressure) to recognize Kuwait's independence and international borders.

In all this, Russia has not talked about an immediate elimination of the sanctions. There has been an unintentional mistake or a distortion of concepts in this regard. Russia has noted the need to begin implementing a monitoring system. (I emphasize here that this system is not a gift to Iraq, but a harsh restrictive measure and one of the methods to carefully monitor all the provisions of the UN Security Council resolutions.) In other words, we are not proposing to end the sanctions, but to begin a test period. When this period ends and after Rolf Ekeus' UN commission determines that Baghdad has fully and honestly implemented the terms of the resolutions, the UN Security Council can then start discussing the question of ending the oil embargo—and not all the sanctions. In other words, the distance is still not small.

I would like to note that Kozyrev and his first deputy held extensive talks regarding the missing Kuwaiti citizens. I participated in talks held in Moscow with a Kuwaiti delegation that included persons searching for their relatives. A member of the delegation had lost two of his brothers. I thought then that had I, God forbid, lost two brothers, I would leave everything and try to find them.

Through AL-HAYAH, I would like to inform all the Kuwaitis that Russia will not neglect this issue and will relentlessly pursue it with the Iraqi Government in order to determine the fate of the missing. We realize that this is a major humanitarian issue, touching the feelings of Kuwaitis to whom close family relations are extremely important. First Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov made a commitment in this regard to Shaykh al-Salim al-Sabah. I note with gratitude that Kuwait, on its part, promised to double its efforts to search for the Russian prisoners of war in Afghanistan. This is an extremely

important issue to us. The talks with King Fahd, the amir of Kuwait, and the president of the United Arab Emirates left a big impression on the foreign minister and his delegation. (It is significant that these meetings were held on the eve of Chernomyrdin's visit.) In my opinion, the meetings showed that the leaders of these states have more confidence in Russia, that our political dialogue is becoming more profound, and that the interest of the Gulf Cooperation Council states in Russia is increasing.

On our part, we are showing extreme interest in this area on all levels, including security and defense. Relations on the security level are not shaped all at once. This field is very sensitive. In its capacity as the closest neighbor, a big maritime state, and a permanent UN Security Council member, Russia is increasingly interested in becoming one of the guarantors of security and stability in the Gulf area. Incidentally, I will say that looking to the future, Iraq will be one of the most important components of this system.

Generally, I would like to say frankly that there are people who are trying to exploit the wave of events around Iraq to instill doubt in the Gulf states about Moscow's policy. I do not think that they have succeeded. Kozyrev's tour of the three Gulf states and his talks with their leaders convinced me that mutual confidence and good relations between Russia and the Gulf states are continuously growing. As they say, the caravan is moving on.

Palestinian Affairs

Labor Minister Interviewed

95AA0034B Nazareth AL-SINNARAH in Arabic
28 Oct 94 p 3

[Interview with Palestinian labor Minister Dr. Samir Ghawshah, by Ayman 'Abdallah: "The Investments Do Not Match the Promises of the Donor Nations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Recently there have been meetings to discuss the draft labor law. It is said that this law is a synthesis of some Arab countries' laws, especially Jordan. What does Minister Ghawshah think of this law and what courses of action is he debating?

[Ghawshah] Submitting the Palestinian draft labor law for discussion is the first step toward other meetings and open debates via the news media, which in the end will enable us to produce effective recommendations and amendments and to reformulate this draft in a scientific, practical, and democratic manner. Then it will be submitted to the national authority for ratification to become the labor law during the first phase. Here the uniqueness of our people's circumstances must be noted, as well as the use of all international and Arab labor legislation and expertise.

[Abdallah] What steps are you currently taking to promote and reinforce the Ministry's role in this phase?

[Ghawshah] As a result of the circumstances through which we are passing and the challenges we face, we have taken on our shoulders some inescapable tasks. The first of these is completing the Labor ministry's organizational framework, as well as putting a priority on competency and achieving the necessary standards through establishment of a national labor institute for training, documentation, and dialogue, a department for research and statistics, a data bank, departments for inspection and training, and institutions.

[Abdallah] What steps are you taking to resolve the unemployment problem in the labor sector?

[Ghawshah] As we have indicated, the problem of unemployment is considered the most prominent task entrusted to the Ministry of Labor due to its negative effects. However, a popular mistake is to consider the minister of labor the party responsible for employing workers in the work places. The Ministry is just one of the parties. Resolving the unemployment problem depends on four principal factors:

1. investments in the Palestinian economic development process—the first and most essential factor;
2. new job opportunities created for the work force through these investments;
3. workers in the Arab countries;
4. policies. This the factor for which the labor policy bears responsibility.

The problem with unemployment is that it is widespread among unskilled laborers, which leaves us the problem of how to make these workers vocationally qualified, create job opportunities, and organize relations between employers and workers correctly so they can work together to resolve the problem. Most of the world's countries suffer from unemployment, but it is relatively higher among us due to the occupation and the resulting destruction of our national economy and its becoming dependent on the Israeli economy.

[Abdallah] The number of laborers working in Israel has dwindled considerably. Will you work to increase the number during the Israeli-Palestinian talks and through a public agreement?

[Ghawshah] We are gathering statistics on this matter at the Ministry of Labor. However, unfortunately, so far we are not appealing only to the Israelis to increase the number, even though these workers constitute a not insignificant percentage due to the previous years of occupation and the lack of effective development programs in the past, whether abroad or through local investments. Our assessment is that this will depend not on what Israel decides but on what we ourselves decide, if the wheels of progress and investment begin to turn in such a way as to absorb the largest possible number of Palestinian workers.

[Abdallah] In a previous interview we had with Abu-al-'Ala' (Ahmad Quray', PA minister of economy) he spoke about trying to break the forced link with the Israeli economy. In your opinion, will establishing places of employment in Gaza and Jericho be sufficient, and, if not, how long will the dependence on employment in Israel continue?

[Ghawshah] As long as we are in this situation and there is no development in our situation in all its aspects, it is natural that a number of workers will continue to work in Israel. However, the more the Palestinian national economy grows and flourishes, the more it absorbs larger numbers of workers. The self-rule authority will work toward this gradually. This does not preclude a certain percentage of workers continuing to work in Israel, especially since the national economy will absorb a number of workers in the regions. This process is subject to change according to developments and modifications in social and economic policy.

[Abdallah] Are there economic projects that will be established soon via investments from the donor nations?

[Ghawshah] Some of the investments from donor countries have begun, but they are coming in very slowly in a way inconsistent with the nature of the promises made by the donor countries. Obstacles and impediments have been put in the way. Urgent efforts are being made toward having these countries fulfill their commitments, either by providing monetary assistance or offering loans.

[Abdallah] There are those who say that the Ministry of Labor has so far not drawn up labor and wage agreements and that not one step has been taken with regard to labor unions in the occupied territories or social rights. What is your comment on this?

[Ghawshah] There is a law on organizing unions, and there is a law that will be drawn up about social security. We are in a beginning phase, and it is hard to judge us. All of this requires studies and preparation in order to be something we can build on.

[Abdallah] Do you hope to establish future relations with Israel in the labor field?

[Ghawshah] There are agreements covering political and economic relations with Israel. Certainly we will be committed to and implement this decision in all of its aspects, whether with regard to the security aspect, Israel's withdrawals from the occupied territories, or some economic sectors and aspects, including labor and workers.

[Abdallah] We have heard about a project for unifying the labor unions in the occupied territories.

[Ghawshah] We think that the best course is to conduct elections from which will emerge a unified general union, founded on a democratic basis. This issue will be ratified by the employers through the democratic process. The national authority will pave the way toward

democracy. As I indicated previously, we are concerned that the Ministry of Labor be able to formulate its course of action, so that there will be unified labor unions and associations for the employers' organizations. They can then form a tripartite advisory committee that will bear its responsibilities with regard to the workers and executive policies.

Note: This interview was conducted before the occupation authorities imposed the security cordon and the economic blockade against the Palestinian territories following the Dizengoff incident last week.

Commentary Questions Peace Process

95AA034A Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI in Arabic 29 Oct 94 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Stop These Unacceptable Practices?!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] No Palestinian anywhere in the world will support terrorism, for they are the people who have suffered most from it in all its forms, and they have paid its enormous price over the years. The word "terrorism" can have many meanings depending on the angle from which it is viewed. Whatever its definition, however, any action that leads to shedding the blood of innocent and unarmed victims is terrorism. This is what we cannot accept and what we reject; we hope for action to end it.

There have been a series of events within Israel recently that have aroused the anger of the Israeli public and its government, which has taken a series of harsh measures against Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and the self-rule areas. These measures confirm the collective punishment that is practiced against the Palestinian people.

All Palestinians are questioning the true nature of the peace signed between Israel and the Palestinians: Is it a just peace or a weak peace? Will it result in stability? The citizen also is asking: Does the Palestinian-Israeli agreement allow Israel to:

- punish the entire Palestinian people for one incident and persist in imposing and tightening the security cordon on everyone, even in the self-rule areas?
- establish any measures it wants without any limits?

The reaction to any incident is an emotional one based on feelings and passions, not on logic and reason. The Israeli leadership must ask itself: How can it stop the bloodshed in this region? How can it put an end to intifadah activities and the violence once and for all?

In our sincere and frank opinion, Israel must study the factors that cause desperation and the commitment of various violent acts. We say to it:

- Does not the security cordon, which exacerbates the economic situation, engender rancor and hatred and cause an explosion?

- Does the policy of destroying homes under flimsy pretexts not create enmity and sow the seeds of rage in their inhabitants?
- Are the arrests and police raids not one of the factors arousing feelings of hatred and rage among the youth and their relatives?
- Does the policy of settlements and land confiscation not create more hatred?
- Does the shelling of the homes of the innocent in southern Lebanon not result in more animosity and insistence on revenge?
- Does the policy of stalling in the peace negotiations and continuing to occupy the occupied territories, as well as treating their inhabitants in a degrading and humiliating way, not create violence and raise the level of tension?
- Are the policies of domination over the Palestinian Authority and the people and practicing various types of pressure not contribute to increasing tension, stirring up emotions, and incitement to carry out acts of revenge?

We realize that the situation cannot be resolved by harsh measures...by pursuing the policy of the iron fist, the policy of repression and oppression, the policy of striking with the steel hand. Rather, the situation can be resolved by achieving a just and comprehensive peace in the region, a peace that will end the tragedies and suffering...that will end all the causes of hostility and animosity and will eliminate the hatred, the hostility, and the rancor.

At the same time, we emphasize that Israel's punitive measures against all the people will make things go from bad to worse and will create additional tension. They will destroy any bridges that are being built toward achieving just and comprehensive peace in the region.

He who reacts to one incident or another with his feelings and emotions, instead of with reason and wisdom, and is concerned with formalities, and not with substance, will fail to uproot violence in the region. Therefore, what is required from Rabin and the members of his Israeli Government is to be truly courageous in being committed to international law and applying its decisions. They must stop pursuing the policy of collective punishment and improve their treatment of this embattled people. They must stop harassing them and violating their dignity. They must demonstrate good intentions and confirm that they are serious about achieving just and comprehensive peace through decent and tangible measures. Only then will Rabin succeed in ending these acts of violence, which we do not support and which increase the suffering of all the region's peoples equally.

Security Chief Yusuf Interviewed

95AA0048A London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 4 Dec 94 pp 36-37

[Interview with General Nasr Yusuf, commander of the Palestinian national security forces in the Palestinian self-rule areas, by Salih Qallab; place and date not given]

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[FBIS Translated Text] Since the establishment of the National Authority [NA] in the Palestinian self-rule areas, many questions have been raised regarding the relationship between this authority and its various security services, on the one hand, and the militant opposition represented by Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] and the Islamic Jihad movement, on the other. The incidents of "bloody Friday" last week raised these questions again. AL-MAJALLAH contacted General Nasr Yusuf, commander of the Palestinian national security forces, and conducted an interview with him on several important matters.

[Qallab] What were the reasons for what happened on Friday? Was the clash spontaneous, or was it planned?

[Yusuf] Hamas is a political movement. It is promoting its own program as an alternative to Fatah's program. What happened Friday was preplanned. Its purpose was to undermine the NA in the eyes of the people, and then destroy it.

[Qallab] Some people regard Fatah's recent activity as a white coup in support of the NA, because Fatah, as an organizational force, has not manifested itself until now. What is your opinion on this?

[Yusuf] We tried at the beginning to keep the authority neutral and for all the forces. However, when Fatah realized the danger in what Hamas was doing, it decided to act and declare its support for the NA. Here I must point out that Fatah was the one that initiated the political program the NA is carrying out now. Therefore, it had to defend this program and its decisions and, with its own program, confront those parties that were trying to replace this program.

[Qallab] In light of what happened, there are fears that a Palestinian civil war might break out. How true are these fears?

[Yusuf] The Palestinian people's awareness will foil any attempt to involve them in fratricide. Enormous dangers exist. Some parties have an interest in the outbreak of a Palestinian civil war.

[Qallab] Since the recent incidents, some people have tried to achieve reconciliation. Do you expect this crisis to be resolved and coexistence restored through mutual understanding, dialogue, and democratic methods?

[Yusuf] The recent efforts made by our brothers at home have produced some positive results. Nevertheless, many big complications exist. I pray to God to spare our people any evil.

[Qallab] After every operation by the Islamic Jihad or Hamas, you launch a wide-scale campaign of arrests. Is it your duty to defend Israel's security?

[Yusuf] Our main duty is to safeguard our society, people, and homeland. We are going through a difficult building period. This demands that we keep matters under control and not allow any party, which may have

been instigated from abroad, to foil the Palestinian people's attempt to establish their own state and homeland and build their future like all the peoples in the area and the world. We signed agreements with Israel as representatives of the Palestinian people. We are committed to carrying out these agreements. Therefore, the arrests that we make after every operation are primarily designed to protect the security of the Palestinian people. Israel's security is the responsibility of the Israelis.

[Qallab] What does Hamas want? Does it want to continue fighting until Palestine is completely liberated or until it foils the peaceful solutions?

[Yusuf] You can pose this question to Hamas. What I can say is that Hamas is not a militant movement but a political movement. Hamas has a political program, which it is seeking to implement. It has raised this program as an alternative to Fatah's program. Perhaps I will not be mistaken if I say that Hamas is raising the banner of jihad not to liberate Palestine, but to dominate and take over the NA. Therefore, the operations it is carrying out at this time are just a means to reach, dominate, and monopolize power. I believe—and this belief is based on facts, evidence, and information—that the main purpose of the recent Hamas operations was to launch an acceptable dialogue with the Israelis, strengthen the position of some regional and international parties in the peace process, and acquire a bigger share in this process. This is as far as Hamas is concerned. As for the Islamic Jihad, it has raised the slogan of liberating Palestine, but has not coupled this slogan with any specific political plan or program. I think that any party that raises the slogan of jihad without a personal motive or interest will be able to better understand the Palestinian people's situation and the requirements of the time through which these people are passing.

[Qallab] Is this why Fatah has mobilized its supporters in the Gaza Strip and tried to prove its existence?

[Yusuf] The rally you have seen was only by members of Fatah. I assure you that had an invitation been addressed to all the people, you would have seen 10 times as many people at this rally.

[Qallab] There are contradicting reports about the strength of Hamas and the Islamic Jihad in Gaza. As commander of the Palestinian security forces, what is your estimate of the real strength of these two movements?

[Yusuf] The Palestinian people are Muslim and religious, and the strength of Islam in Palestinian society is extremely big and without limit. Therefore, a distinction must be made between Islam and the Islamic movement as a political movement with its own program, ties, and power aspirations. The Islamic movement, as a political movement, has a program to seize power. It is trying to mobilize support for this program through militant slogans and operations. I assure you that our people are

aware of this fact and the nature of this period. They realize that the agreements we signed with Israel were the only reasonable and possible thing to do under the existing Palestinian, Arab, and international conditions. I do not want to give you figures about the strength of these two movements, although I do have true figures. I will only say that the Palestinian people's big support for the peace process and the agreements we signed with Israel made it possible for us to control the security situation in the self-rule areas.

[Qallab] Since the NA exists and you are in control of the security situation, as you say, why do you not collect the weapons from the forces that have openly declared their hostility to the peace process?

[Yusuf] We are in the process of seizing these weapons. We will soon issue weapons permits, and the Palestinian security forces will then confiscate all unlicensed weapons.

[Qallab] Some people have accused you of torturing your detained opponents. How are arrests investigated and trials conducted?

[Yusuf] I have not heard until now that we are torturing the detainees. There are specialized international organizations in the self-rule areas that monitor the situation. They know that we have not carried out tortures, even on a minimum scale. Investigations are conducted according to law. All the investigators are qualified people and men of law. I must point out here that the Palestinian National Authority has not brought anyone to trial because of political opposition.

[Qallab] The Palestinian forces were originally established to confront Israel. Have you found any difficulty in moving these forces against Palestinian groups, such as Hamas and the Islamic Jihad?

[Yusuf] The security forces, even in the past, have been an indivisible part of the Palestinian people's national movement. Therefore, when the Palestinian people's leadership decided to join the peace process, based on the resolutions of the Palestine National Council and other institutions, it did so to carry out the wishes of the Palestinian national movement, led by the military organizations that now have changed into security forces. I affirm that we are doing our work in the self-rule areas with enthusiasm and conviction. The Palestinian security forces realize that what they are doing is part of the process to establish the desired Palestinian state.

[Qallab] Do the Palestinian forces have enough manpower to control the security situation in Gaza and Jericho? What is the problem you are facing? Is it the shortage in weapons or the large conflicting number of institutions?

[Yusuf] I do not think there is a manpower shortage, because the existing manpower is based on international criteria regarding the ratio of security forces to the population. The problem we are facing is shortage in

financial resources and technical and mechanical equipment. On this occasion, I must note that we are still waiting for the aid that has been promised to us by many Arab and international parties.

Algeria

Haddam Discusses U.S. Policy Issues

95AF00114 London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic
29 Oct 94 pp 30-32

[Interview with the Chief of the British Mission for "Salvation" in the United States, Dr. Anouar Haddam, by Muhammad Ali Salih in Washington; date not given: "We Hope that Washington will not Relinquish the Algerian Question to Paris"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Dr. Anouar Haddam (he is 40 years old), studied physics at an American university and returned to Algeria to work as a professor in its university. In the 1991 elections, he won for the Islamic Salvation Front in Tlemcen, western Algeria, but the military government canceled the elections. He is now the chief of the British mission on behalf of "Salvation" in the United States of America. AL-MAJALLAH conducted an interview with him. Here are the details:

[AL-MAJALLAH] American Assistant Secretary of State Pelletreau endorsed the discussions between the Algerian Government and the Salvation Front and condemned extremist Islamic movements (like the Armed Islamic Group). Is this not a step forward in the American position?

[Haddam] The problem lies in the meaning of what the American assistant secretary said. No one can imagine that an entire people would elect extremists. Either these people are dim-witted, or the assistant secretary's utterances are out of place. On the other hand, no one in his right mind can support extremism. However, the question is: What is extremism? And how can any person divide us into extremists and moderates? And what is the criterion? We want political freedom and we ask that the American Government move away from this interpretation, which we consider to be an undemocratic one.

[AL-MAJALLAH] But the American Government took a step forward regarding its position on the Islamic movement in Algeria?

[Haddam] Why did the American Government not speak about the principle of democracy? Why did it not recognize our victory in free and honest elections? Why does it want to expand the sphere of authority as if it wanted us to participate in the government with this regime?

[AL-MAJALLAH] Assistant Secretary Pelletreau said he was against extremists?

[Haddam] The assistant secretary said that America will not reconcile itself to a traditional state, and that is an erroneous utterance that has to be reconsidered.

[AL-MAJALLAH] But he intended to differentiate between the moderates and the extremists?

[Haddam] Permit me to say the following to you: We are on the verge of victory over the regime in Algeria. That is why we do not understand the concern of the Americans about the emergence of an Islamic state there. We do not understand the manner in which they express their concern about Algeria. That is what concerns us. We will not permit anyone to halt our march with victory within reach.

[AL-MAJALLAH] But the Americans want to differentiate between moderates and extremists?

[Haddam] As I said, the point is in the interpretation of these classifications and in the reading of the situation now in Algeria. Our reading is that Algeria is on the verge of becoming an Islamic state, and this will be realized by the grace of Almighty God.

[AL-MAJALLAH] One of the things that concern the Americans is the rejection by the Islamic Salvation Front of the multi-party system. Do you believe in the right of other parties to exist and in their freedom?

[Haddam] From the first day and up until now, our position is clear. In the latest missive from Shaykh 'Abbasi Madani to Liamine Zeroual, we affirmed our adherence to multiple parties, to the principle of elections, and to alternation in the succession to authority.

[AL-MAJALLAH] There is something that concerns the Americans and it is the Islamists' position on the rights of women. Are you for the freedom of women?

[Haddam] Asking a question in this way is incomprehensible. We are Muslims, and we know that Islam cherishes and honors women.

[AL-MAJALLAH] Will you give women the right to vote and to declare their candidacy for parliament?

[Haddam] We know the real position of women in Western countries. They have become objects for sexual enjoyment. We do not expect lessons and advice from Western advocates of the rights of women. We know that Islam gave women rights and imposed duties on them, and there is no need for particulars. All that we say is that we want a republic in Algeria that is based on Islamic principles. But most unfortunately, I have to say that in the Arab and Islamic world, women are being subjugated in the name of Islam. Islam is innocent of whatever injustice that is befalling women as a result of some customs and traditions.

[AL-MAJALLAH] What do you want from the American Government now?

[Haddam] We wish for America to take the Algerian question seriously and not abandon it to France, because France is the imperialist power that colonized Algeria. It is repudiated and hated among Algerians. We want America to oppose attempts by France to draw the Atlantic alliance and the European countries against us in Algeria. For the first time, France returns to the Atlantic alliance for no other reason than to mobilize the alliance against us. In this, we do not make a new demand on America, because we recall that the deceased American president, John Kennedy, took a stand against France during its colonization of Algeria.

[AL-MAJALLAH] America dispatched its forces to Haiti, neutralized the military regime, and restored the freely elected president. Is there any comparison between this and the American position on the military regime in Algeria?

[Haddam] There is similarity, with a big difference. We want for America and the United Nations to sever relations with the regime in Algeria and to apply pressure on it until it negotiates and relinquishes power to its owners. But, at the same time, we want to solve our problem in a purely Algerian way, because we are afraid that if it were to be internationalized, then that would give France the opportunity to meddle in our internal affairs.

[AL-MAJALLAH] Do you see opportunities for cooperation with the United States if you establish the Islamic republic in Algeria?

[Haddam] We do not say this to the Americans to tempt them, but we believe in satisfying mutual interests. Yes, there are many opportunities for mutual cooperation.

[AL-MAJALLAH] Are you experiencing any harassment and difficulties in your political activities here?

[Haddam] The American Government itself has assured us many times that our presence is legal. The strange thing is that it is the French Government that wants to proscribe our activities here. It openly declared that it was concerned about these activities.

[AL-MAJALLAH] Do you feel that your life is in danger?

[Haddam] The future is in God's hands, and the protector is God. It is He who has enabled us to come here to defend our cause.

Mehri Discusses Dialogue, FIS, Berbers

95AF0017A London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic
19 Nov 94 pp 32-38

[Interview with FLN Secretary General 'Abd-al-Hamid Mehri, by Fahmi Huwaydi: "Algeria: The 'Bloody Scenario' Looms on the Horizon"; first 19 paragraphs are AL-MAJALLAH introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] The series of developments in Algeria since the 40th anniversary celebration, on 1 November, of the spark that ignited the revolution, have stirred profound doubts over the possibility of an easing in the deep-seated crisis, at least in the foreseeable future. More precisely, the events of the past week were a strong indication that the "bloody scenario" is now looming on Algeria's horizon.

After the official announcement that the national dialogue had reached a dead end, and the accusation that the FIS leadership was continuing to support armed violence, and laying some of the responsibility for the failure on the other Algerian opposition parties, the result of all this is likely to be a return to the method of the security solution and a gradual end to the business of a political solution.

There is now no chance for what has been called an upset in the balance of power that occurred on the Algerian political scene, but what is for sure is that there has been an upset in the way of handling the crisis. The trend towards "extermination" is led by the team of the recently promoted Army Chief of Staff General Mohamed Lamari, who is now navigating the crisis.

Thus last week's message means that the mutual understanding project between the army and the FIS [Islamic Salvation Front] has failed, and that, until further notice, the Algerian political scene is not big enough for both of them. One must do away with the other.

On another front, President Liamine Zeroual's announcement of presidential elections before the end of next year was remarkable, as it must mean one of two things. Either it indicates his desire to buy time by giving people hope in the possibility of the country's returning to normal in the coming 14 months, possibly betting on that period's being sufficient to settle matters. This would be a slender possibility, because a confrontation that has not been settled in the course of the last three years is unlikely to be solved in 14 months. If we rule out a settlement, the attempt to buy time might be seen in itself as a realistic goal.

The second thing is that President Zeroual has actually decided to hold presidential elections in order to bestow legitimacy on the government in Algeria, having despaired of reasoning with the FIS, and having been worn down by pressure from the opposition parties. He may have wanted that hoped-for legitimacy in order to vault over all others and rest upon the authority of the masses in electing a new leadership for a mandate to take the measures he wishes to save the country from its predicament.

President Zeroual may have resorted to that solution to cover his withdrawal from the presidency. It is he who called for dialogue, and the striking thing is that his mission was to achieve that dialogue and to move on from the violence. When it became clear that the dialogue had failed, letting down the hopes pinned upon it,

there was no way for him to avoid withdrawal and the removal of himself. The idea of elections was the ideal way of achieving that.

It only remains for us to mention that President Zeroual was serious in his call for dialogue and that he swept away some of the obstacles before him—specifically, swept away some of the officers and Cabinet ministers who were calling for confrontation and "extermination." Thus he conveyed many signs that encouraged staying the course, to the point of preparing for FIS's gaining legitimacy by transferring some of its leaders from prison and freeing some others. We may well imagine the difficulty of these steps in the atmosphere in Algeria in which the "exterminationist" faction is applying strong pressure with the support of some European governments, chiefly France.

We must also remember, however, that FIS has not taken those indications well and may not realize it, as they are within the context of the current Algerian Government. Thus its leaders did not react in such a way as to strengthen the pro-dialogue faction, or to reinforce hope in its chances of success.

We do not entirely trust the accuracy of the news circulated about how Shaykh Ali Benhadj sent two letters to the Armed Group [GIA], in which he expressed his wish to join their ranks after his release from prison. It is unlikely he would have written letters of that kind at a time when the two shaykhs, Madani and Benhadj, were sending their famous letter to the prime minister, expressing their desire to reach an understanding. We can almost believe that what Benhadj previously wrote in this regard was edited on to the letter sent to the prime minister. Nor do we rule out that the story of the two letters was used as a pretext at that time for cutting the lines of communication with the two shaykhs and to return to the security solution after the "eliminationist" forces applied pressure and succeeded in their efforts.

Most of the details are not known at present, but appearances suggest that FIS bears some of the final, calamitous responsibility for the fate of the efforts at dialogue, which empowered the exterminationist faction and reset the course, yet again, for a security solution.

The army command is represented in Gen. Lamari's preparing the atmosphere, at the present time, to launch a new round of bloody confrontation, which this time would adopt a different tone, expressed by Gen. Lamari himself when he wrote an article in AL-JAYSH [The Army] magazine, in which he said for the first time that the government was fighting FIS and the GIA because they were "enemies of Islam." In this he used the exact same language used by the Islamists who are fighting the government. With this, the confrontation took the form of each side accusing the other of being the "enemy of Islam." This strengthened the impression we stated above—that the Algerian political scene is not big enough for both of them.

More significant than all that, and more serious, is the fact that it is the Algerian people who will ultimately pay the price; the exorbitant cost of the fighting will be paid in the blood of that heroic people who have endured governments and leaders who have brought them to the brink of the abyss, who are now getting ready to push them one more step forward.

In the opinion of Mr. 'Abd-al-Hamid Mehri, 68, the Algerian Liberation Front [FLN]'s battle continues. For 40 years it waved the banner of the country's liberation from foreign occupation, and for the defense of Algeria's Arabism and Islam. Today it is fighting the same battle against subordination and outside dependency and in defense of Algeria's Arab and Islamic identity.

When I told him that many people blame the FLN for Algeria's current crisis, as it alone has ruled the country for 30 years, and brought it to the state it is in now, he replied, "When the calf stumbles, people sharpen their knives!"

"Meaning what?" I asked him.

He waited a moment to listen to the news from London. When he had listened to the headlines and heard nothing about Algeria, which he had left for Beirut two days before to take part in a conference on "the National Islamic Dialogue," he clicked off the radio. Then the secretary general of the FLN said:

"It is no secret that there are many sides in Algeria that have tried to make the FLN into a peg upon which to hang all the errors of the past and all the sins of the present, either to settle scores, to relieve their consciences, or to cover their own shortcomings. This kind of talk no longer convinces anyone. The people know that the FLN has been out of power for five years, when things have grown worse than they ever were before."

He added that "what everyone should know is that the FLN was not ruling Algeria for 30 years. The truth is that it was a front for the government but did not participate in it."

[Huwaydi] How?

[Mehri] After Independence in 1962, the FLN became a party under the influence of President 'Abd-al-Nasir's experience in Egypt and under pressure from the forces of the left who found in one-party rule the ideal model for "alliance" and for running the state. That was in 1964. But after four or five months, the war with Morocco broke out; President Ben Bella suspended the constitution and reserved all powers to himself. President Boumedienne's coup d'etat came eight months later. He dissolved the party's Central Committee and formed in its place a Revolutionary Command Council [RCC], which in effect ruled the country. In light of the party's having become the country's political system, it became one of the levers used by the RCC; it had no independent nature and no actual role. This is the situation that was codified in the 1976 Constitution,

which considered the party to be a political authority along with the executive and judicial authorities. The RCC reserved legislative powers to itself and its president—the president of the republic—became the secretary general of the party. It stayed that way until the death of President Boumedienne in 1979. The FLN party conference was never held during his tenure—from 1965 until 1975—and was able to meet only at the end of the year of his death. Thus the party's actual powers were defined only in the 1980s, which were racked with many events that shook the whole Algerian regime. Foremost among these was the drop in oil prices in 1986, which led to a 40-percent decline in Algeria's income. This severely affected the economic situation, and the explosion of popular anger in 1988 was attributed to that, as was the change in the political structure of the regime in 1989. The story after that is well known.

[Huwaydi] Does that mean the FLN party bears no responsibility for the current crisis?

[Mehri] I said and I repeat that the party was a front for the government but was not actually ruling the country. Despite that, despite the errors of the past 30 years, they were not as miserable as they are now represented to the people. The proof is that the regime has not fallen despite having been the object of an organized campaign of subversion and destruction for the past three years. Were it not for the strong infrastructure given Algeria in the past, it would not have been able to hold up thus far.

[Huwaydi] How do you assess the situation now?

[Mehri] It is difficult and highly complicated, but not hopeless. There is a light at the end of the tunnel.

[Huwaydi] That synopsis requires, in turn, some explanation and detail.

[Mehri] It is difficult, because the fate of the crisis is linked to the success of the dialogue, and the success of the dialogue now rests on the actual participation of FIS. This participation gave some indication when the dialogue committee and the presidency received the letter from the two shaykhs, Abassi Madani and Ali Benhadj. That letter expressed their commitment to democracy, pluralism, and the rotation of power, and their respect for the constitution's standing in this regard. Some quarters in the government, however, demanded that FIS's other leaders support the letter and that the FIS condemn violence before taking part in the dialogue. The FIS leaders' support for the shaykhs' letter required that the leadership be permitted to meet, and that required the re-legitimization of the FIS structure and the ensuring of its leaders, who were scattered—up in the mountains or in prison. This was a step the government has so far been unable to take. On another front, demanding that the shaykhs condemn violence before taking part in the dialogue seems, in its turn, to be impractical and hard to achieve. It is impractical because there is no point in the shaykhs' condemnation if that does not come about via an agreement among FIS's

various leaders. Otherwise what good is the statement if it does not represent the membership, which still considers itself to be in a state of war and conflict with the government? It is also difficult for the shaykhs, whose followers are still in prison, and whose movement has paid an exorbitant price to exert pressure on the government. Then they find themselves asked to abandon their one lever of pressure.

That gives you an idea of one aspect of the complexity of the Algerian situation. There are others, such as the fact that there are many foreign and domestic powers, both visible and covert, playing a negative role on the Algerian political stage. There are the secularists, the pro-Westerners, the communists, and those with their own private interests, who benefit from monopolies and corruption. None of these have any interest in the success of the dialogue or the stability of the country, because that would be the end of their golden age!

[Huwaydi] If that's how things are, where is that light at the end of the tunnel that you referred to?

[Mehri] In spite of everything, the mere movement of the shaykhs, Abassi Madani and Ali Benhadj, to a different location preparatory to their release—we think—and the release of another number of FIS shaykhs, that step alone may be seen as the first positive sign that the government is in the process of changing its policy on dealing with the problem, in that it does not depend on confrontation or a security solution alone.

[Huwaydi] There is talk of the FLN's allying itself with FIS.

[Mehri] Some people say so, in order to broaden the scope of the confrontation, and to cast more doubt on the FLN's position. The people who allege that are the ones we now call the "exterminationists." They are against the Arabism and Islam of Algeria and especially against the dialogue with the Islamists. They are the ones who proclaimed in their newspapers and their political speeches that Algeria must rid itself of the plague—the FLN, that is—and of cholera—by which they mean FIS. Our actual position is that we truly want FIS to take part in the dialogue, for one basic reason, which is that we want that dialogue to succeed. This is the last remaining hope before us if Algeria is to be rescued from this infernal cycle of violence.

[Huwaydi] There are those who say the process of dialogue was created in the first place to break the ranks of Algeria's parties; to use it to strike at what remains of FIS's influence.

[Mehri] We realized from the very beginning that there were those who wanted to toy with the dialogue, and who did not take it seriously. They don't understand that in reality they are playing with fire. Our view of such attempts is decisive; we have rejected from the outset a dialogue of some against others, of some without others, and some before others. We have conveyed this view

frankly to the prime minister. We still insist upon the need for a dialogue among all, at the same time.

[Huwaydi] Do you believe that FIS's participation in the dialogue can stop the violence of the armed resistance—including the activities of the GIA?

[Mehri] It is not easy to answer that question at the present time, because that would depend upon the nature of the conditions and the circumstances in which FIS will take part in the dialogue. In spite of that, if that step is taken despite overcoming the many obstacles in its path, then surely that will significantly reduce the cycle of violence, because the FIS army is still entirely loyal to the FIS leadership. If they were to cease armed action, that would have the effect of blocking the activity of the GIA, and of depriving it of any popular support, especially on the part of those who voted for FIS.

GIA Penetrated

[Huwaydi] Which is stronger in Algeria now, the GIA or FIS's army?

[Mehri] Ample information indicates the Islamic Salvation Army has more influence in the east and west, where the GIA has less influence; the latter is concentrated in the central region.

[Huwaydi] How true are the claims that the GIA has been penetrated by other groups?

[Mehri] That is being said a lot in Algeria. We have considered it and do not rule out that it might be true, because the members of that group have killed people and public figures in a way that provokes surprise and grave doubts. For example, they have killed former FLN fighters, moderate Islamists, a former president, an entertainer, and many other innocent people. There is no discernible pattern in these assassinations, which can be explained by one cause: inconsistency in the interests of the parties carrying out the assassinations. This indicates their divergent interests and considerations.

[Huwaydi] What do you think of the killings of Algerian intellectuals?

[Mehri] Naturally we are against anyone resorting to violence to settle political differences, let alone other differences. Those people were killed not because they were intellectuals, but because they had political views that excited the resentment of those followers of the Islamists. Most of them had taken part in the "Save Algeria" committee formed by some political groups after the parliamentary elections, which sought to abort the electoral process, and gave its blessing to the intervention of the armed forces and the annulment of the election results.

[Huwaydi] Is there any explanation for the frequency of stabbing deaths?

[Mehri] That is of course a horrible thing, but the freedom fighters of the War of Liberation did the same

thing in the beginning of their revolution against the French occupation. Their justification for that was the scarcity of military equipment and the fighters' keenness to conserve ammunition for bigger confrontations with the army of occupation.

[Huwaydi] How many victims of the violence have there been so far, in your estimation?

[Mehri] Tunisian Government sources monitoring events in Algeria on a daily basis say the average number of fatalities is from 250 to 400 each week (note that there are 52 weeks in a year). This came from the French defense minister, and means that at least 1,000 people are killed every month. But the losses go far beyond this.

[Huwaydi] How?

[Mehri] There is widespread destruction and sabotage of public utilities and economic institutions, and there are thousands of people fired from their jobs and put in prisons and detention camps. We can even say that there is no Algerian family that has not been directly affected by what has happened; indeed there is no family that has not had a member killed or arrested.

[Huwaydi] Your family included?

[Mehri] Yes, I have a nephew in prison with a group of FIS members. And Abdelkader Hachani, the well-known leader of FIS, has a brother who is a police officer. And so correlate that with the rest of Algerian society.

[Huwaydi] Is the violence a one-way street, or is it perpetrated by both the government and the Islamists?

[Mehri] Both sides practice wide-ranging violence.

[Huwaydi] Can the army settle the situation? Is it true that it is threatened with a split because of the dialogue with the FIS?

[Mehri] Experience has shown that the situation has gone beyond the scope of control and that military confrontation will not settle it. It would only send the country back into chaos and ruin. There is a great deal of talk about the difference of opinion among army commanders regarding the dialogue, but I know that the core of the army is basically cohesive.

What Is Behind Incitement of Berbers

[Huwaydi] Is there an explanation for the recent attempts to incite strife among the Kabyles and the business of the Berbers and the Amazight?

[Mehri] First of all, playing the Berber card is nothing new. The Tunisians have been trying to manipulate this issue since the late 19th century. They have worked long and hard to hold on to this card and use it as a resource for them inside Algeria. It is they who banned the study of the Koran in the Kabyle region and opened the doors of the region wide to French schools and missionary groups. They have even said that the Berbers are of Aryan rather than Semite origin, to deceive them into

thinking that they are closer to Europe than to the Arabs. But these efforts are doomed to devastating failure, because the Kabyles are the most religious people in Algeria.

[Huwaydi] But the Kabyles gave their votes to Mr. Ait Ahmed (of the Socialist Forces Front) in the recent parliamentary elections, and it is he who assumed he represented the Berber base.

[Mehri] That is true, but it is not that simple. Ait Ahmed is from a family with deep roots in adherence to Islam, and they have a strong relationship with religious institutions. And don't forget that FIS came in second in the balloting in Kayle areas, ahead of the FLN. And also don't forget that a high proportion of FIS leaders are Berbers, and that the GIA also has a Kabyle base.

[Huwaydi] What is it that has animated this subject recently, and agitated the Kabyles in this way?

[Mehri] I cannot say. There are some extremists who have been trying for some time to agitate and provoke the Kabyle youth. Said Sadi's party, which is indirectly supported by France, has led this effort, and the communists too. [Sadi] has gone so far as to announce in France that he will lead the armed resistance against the government if the Islamists participate in governing. There has been talk of distributing weapons and of "militias" formed by Berber youth, but all of this has had a limited effect. It has not influenced the stability or cohesion of the Kabyle situation, despite the atmosphere of incitement presented by the Western media.

As to why there has been this recent effort to incite the Kabyle, I would say that the group of exterminationists, whose efforts to stop the dialogue have failed, turned to the Kabyle regions to stir up the masses there, with the aim of pressuring the government to stop the dialogue, and to delude them into thinking that dialogue would lead to unrest and disturbances. It would then be in their interest to abandon dialogue for good.

[Huwaydi] What do you think of the demand that the Amazight language be taught alongside Arabic in Algerian schools?

[Mehri] All the Kabyles' cultural rights must be respected, of course. We reaffirm that everything must be reviewed in Algeria, to define the role of the three languages in use there: Arabic, Amazight, and French. I think France is trying to create a linguistic schism in Algeria, where the Arabs would speak their language and the Amazight would speak theirs, so that the only way the two groups could talk to each other would be in French!

[Huwaydi] Is Algeria still part of the Francophone world?

[Mehri] This Francophone business is about more than language. It is a political scheme aimed at cultural annexation, in anticipation of political annexation, and

we vehemently reject it. We opposed Algeria's participation in the Organization of Francophone States, and we still do. That angered the French government—they still have not forgiven us.

Demands on the FLN

[Huwaydi] Let's go back to the Algerian predicament. Do you think President Boudiaf's experiment was one way out of the crisis?

[Mehri] I don't think so. His discourse was totally Westernized. He was mostly concerned with annulling the role of the FLN and putting it in a museum, stopping Arabization, and doing away with the official state religion. These were signs that the man—God rest his soul—had become completely estranged from the situation in Algeria during his stay abroad, which lasted more than a quarter century.

[Huwaydi] It is well known that France has a position on a solution to the crisis, and the United States has a divergent, public position, calling for the participation of FIS moderates in government...

[Mehri] [interrupting] Don't you think it's remarkable we have not heard the voice of the Arab world on this crisis in the last three years?

[Huwaydi] (I could find no response to this remark of his, so I changed my question.) What is your view of what is said about Iran's role, or Sudan's, in what is occurring in Algeria?

[Mehri] That is newspaper talk. The problem is 100 percent Algerian.

[Huwaydi] Is the Sudanese scenario applicable in Algeria? That is, with the army joining with FIS to govern?

[Mehri] I rule that out, because the relations between those two sides in Algeria is the exact opposite of Sudan. There is incompatibility, blood, and profound vengeance, plus divergent views and directions at the political and cultural levels between the leaderships of these two sides. How could they cooperate to run the country?

[Huwaydi] What about the Turkish scenario, in which the army is the guardian of the political initiative, ready to intervene with a coup d'état, should that be necessary?

[Mehri] That too is far-fetched, because the language of coups d'état is rejected in this day and age. It is even difficult for the Turkish army itself. More importantly, the Algerian army is much weaker and has reached the point of exhaustion in the confrontation of the last three years and might not be capable of reviving itself sufficiently for the mission you speak of.

[Huwaydi] So what's the solution?

[Mehri] The solution is right in front of us and in our hands, but there are those who would deny it or avoid it. Everyone knows that the only way out is a dialogue with

the major political forces in the country, most importantly FIS. Since the time of President Boudiaf, the FLN has made known five demands relating to the solution. They are: an end to the violence; addressing its effects; restoring the constitution; restoring the constitutional institutions and elected assemblies; and the formation of a coalition government.

Background Sketch on Benhadj's Role in Split

95AF0025B London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic
27 Nov 94 p 21

[Article by Paris correspondent Osmane Tezghart: "Profile of Ali Benhadj, Symbol of Uncompromising Opposition to Dialogue"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ali Benhadj was born on 16 December 1956 in Tunisia of an Algerian father belonging to the Touareg tribe and a Vietnamese mother. He grew up an orphan, his father having been killed during the liberation revolution and his mother having died a few years later. He was raised under the care of the Touati family, known for its respected religious status and for its branches in various Algerian cities, especially in the Saharan south.

Benhadj spent his childhood and youth in the popular quarters of Bab El Oued in the suburbs of the Algerian capital. He studied in its schools and became a teacher in them after failing the examination for a secondary school diploma. His first contacts with the Islamic movement began in the late seventies while he was studying in a "fundamental education" secondary school run by the Algerian Ministry of Religious Affairs.

In 1982, Benhadj was one of the young men who joined the movement of Moustafa Bouyaali, who founded the first of the armed Islamic groups that took up arms against the Algerian regime from 1982 until Bouyaali's death in 1987. Benhadj, however, was quickly arrested and sentenced to five years in prison in August 1983.

Benhadj was released late in 1987 after four years of imprisonment. Because he was not allowed to return to teaching, he became an imam. Thousands of youths would come to hear his sermons in Bab El Oued's El Sunna Mosque and in El Kobba Mosque in the eastern suburb of Algiers. In a few months he became very popular because of his gift for speaking, for which he became famous. This enabled him to lead the first large demonstration of Islamists in Algeria during the events of October 1988.

After the democratic reforms that emerged from these events, Benhadj became prominent as second leader of the Salvation Front (FIS), alongside its chairman, Dr. Abassi Madani. While Madani became known for moderation and political flexibility, Benhadj attracted attention by his uncompromising stands. These were so lacking in the minimum of political adroitness that he became a symbol of extremism. While Madani worked to persuade public opinion in Algeria and the West that the

program of the Islamic political party he headed was compatible with the principles of democracy, pluralism, and rotation of authority, Benhadj came out with a completely contradictory uncompromising position. He announced in an interview with an Algerian newspaper that "democracy is unbelief" and that the principle of making the majority view the arbiter was only a Western trick.

With these statements, Benhadj sowed—perhaps unwittingly—the first seeds of a split in the ranks of the FIS. This later led to the division of the FIS into two currents. One of them, moderate and advocating peaceful political change, was led by Madani. The other was led by Benhadj and others such as Hachemi Sahnoun and Kmar El Dine Kherbane, who did not accept democracy, unless its results were in their favor. Although they advocated entering elections, they set up at the same time an armed secret wing, with the intention—as they said—of preparing to overturn the results of elections if those results tended to impede the Islamic political project.

Despite all the bloody events that Algeria has witnessed in the past three years, the situation after the release of FIS leaders last September returned to the same starting point from which the violence had begun in June 1991. This was because after positive developments in efforts at national dialogue in the wake of Madani's moderate message to the participants in the dialogue, Benhadj countered with two hard-line messages bestowing legitimacy on the armed groups and again justifying terrorism. This aborted the efforts at dialogue and reconciliation and weakened President Liamine Zeroual's arguments before the hardliners in the army command. The latter found Benhadj's extreme statements an ideal pretext to torpedo the dialogue and send the FIS leaders back to Blida military prison.

Divisions Within the Military Discussed

95AF0025A London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic
27 Nov 94 pp 24-27

[Article by Osmane Tezghart: "The Army and Power in Algeria"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the beginning of February 1989, soon after approving the new Algerian constitution establishing political pluralism and a multiparty system, the ruling National Liberation Front (FLN) held an emergency conference. An important decision emerging from it was the resignation of all military members from the party's central committee and political bureau as part of what was then thought to be the army's complete and final withdrawal from political conflict, which it would leave to the nascent political parties. Military men were to content themselves with three basic missions, "the traditional missions of any national army: defending the borders, maintaining the republican system, and guaranteeing respect for the constitution."

Three years after this withdrawal was announced, the Algerian army returned to the forefront of political

events in a way that most observers had not anticipated. Military men intervened again in the conflict that they had announced would be left to politicians. They annulled elections, removed President Bendjedid, banned the activity of the Salvation Front (FIS), and imprisoned its leaders.

Since that date, three presidents and four governments have succeeded to power in Algeria. Although fundamental disagreements have been seen in their programs and orientations, one thing has united them: they were appointed and removed by the military establishment. The differing programs of these governments can be explained by shifts in the balance of power among various rival currents inside the army.

Four Rival Currents

Sources acquainted with Algerian army affairs reckon these currents as four in number: two main currents and two secondary ones. The two main currents are, first, the coup figures—those who led the bloodless coup against President Bendjedid in January 1992. They are also frequently termed "eradicationists"—advocates of a comprehensive security solution aimed at definitively eradicating the roots of terrorism. Opposite this current we find advocates of dialogue and national reconciliation who stand beside President Zeroual in his effort to find a political solution to halt the violence and armed confrontations that have swept the country for nearly three years.

The two secondary currents are, first, the veterans of the Oujda Group, also called the Tlemcen Alliance. It is they who, soon after independence, took power by force from the Algerian revolution's provisional government and installed Ahmed Ben Bella as president. In June 1965 they led a coup against him and appointed Colonel Houari Boumedienne chairman of the Revolutionary Council that ruled the country for 14 years. This group retained much influence even after Boumedienne's death, because some of its leading figures, such as Larbi Belkheir and Aboubaker Belkaid, remained leading architects of the economic liberalization policy during the administration of President Bendjedid.

Two groups competed to influence President Bendjedid, who was known for his accommodationist policy and predilection for appeasing the various wings competing for power. They were the Oujda Group mentioned already and another group that experts classify as the army's fourth current. This was the group of Kasdi Merbah, Boumedienne's chief of intelligence and the first prime minister after the reforms of October 1988. (He was assassinated under mysterious circumstances in August of the past year.) Merbah was known for his personal hostility to Larbi Belkheir. Although he left intelligence and the army in the mid-eighties, many officers remained loyal to him. The most important thing uniting the officers who gathered around Merbah was their opposition to rampant corruption in the ranks

of the army and their hostility to what is known in the language of Algerian politics as "the party of France"—former officers of the French colonial army who joined the ranks of the Algerian revolution in its last months, as well as the economic and administrative cadres that were trained during the colonial period and assumed sensitive positions of authority in the country after independence. They are frequently accused of not having rid themselves completely of their subservience to France, although there is a great deal of exaggeration in such talk. "Party of France" has turned into a peg on which to hang all the mistakes and faults of the old single party and the accretions of 30 years of totalitarian government that were the main reason for the corruption besetting government and administration cadres.

Architects of the Bloodless Coup

In light of recent developments and the appointment of Mohamed Lamari supreme commander of all the armed forces with the rank of lieutenant general, it appears that the current of the coup supporters is dominant within the army. Outwardly, Lamari seems to be the primary leader of this current in view of the broad powers he holds, with the post of supreme commander of the armed forces having come to strengthen his position as chief-of-staff and as President Zeroual's deputy authorized to sign decrees as minister of defense. However, experts on the Algerian army argue that General Khaled Nezzar is still the real leader of this current. Although he has relinquished the post of defense minister, he retains much influence in the army in his capacity as senior officer at the highest military rank.

Three out of a total of six generals on the general staff represent this current: Mohamed Mediene (director of security and investigations, i.e., intelligence), Bennabes Gheziel (head of police), and Chaabane Ghodbane (head of the navy). In addition it has seven out of a total of 13 Defense Ministry generals who approve strategies and are consulted for their opinion on crucial major decisions. They are Mohamed Touati (Khaled Nezzar's political advisor), Yahia Rahal (inspector general of land forces), Ahmed Boustila (deputy police commander), Fodhil Saidi (deputy director of intelligence, recently appointed commander of the fourth military district in the Ouargla region to end the disorder there and the brisk arms smuggling across the Libyan border), Mohamed Boutamine (former air force commander), Khalifa Rahim (former commander of land forces), and Abdelhamid Djouadi (commander of the fifth military district, Constantine, but removed from the post after the escape of prisoners from Tazoult a few months ago).

The actual base of this current in the army's ranks is represented by 181 colonels and unit heads in various corps. It is they who signed the petition demanding the removal of President Bendjedid. They strongly oppose President Zeroual's approach to compromise with the Islamists. They are putting strong pressure on General Nezzar to reconsider his decision to retire at the end of

the year. They are pushing him to form a front opposed to compromise inasmuch as the FIS leaders remain committed to the demand that all those who signed the petition be removed before final peace and reconciliation are proclaimed.

Zeroual's Supporters

Against the coup supporters, who advocate "eradication"—comprehensive security confrontation with the armed religious groups—we find an opposite group represented by those who stand by President Zeroual. They advocate dialogue and national reconciliation, even if these require bringing the Islamists into the government as partners and sharing power with them. Again, three generals out of six represent this current on the general staff: Mohamed Betchine (security advisor to the president), Salah Kaid (commander of land forces), and Mohamed Benslimane (commander of the air force). In addition there are the commanders of the regional military districts whom President Zeroual appointed last April. All of them are officers of the army's so-called "second generation"—those who have not known the liberation revolution and who were educated after independence. Most of them were trained by Zeroual himself, when he was head of the military academy for the various services at Cherchell.

This current has its base in the traditional group known in Algerian army circles as the BTS Group (referring to the towns Batna, Tebessa, and Souk Ahras), which includes officers and soldiers from the Aures area in eastern Algeria (Zeroual himself is from the region). Most experts estimate that they represent about 70 percent of the personnel of the Algerian army for social and historical reasons going back to the period of the liberation revolution and the Aures region's special role in the national struggle at the time.

Officers of this group are believed to have propelled President Zeroual to the fore as part of their traditional regional struggle against the "Tlemcen Alliance" group from western Algeria and against the French army veterans who later joined the ranks of the Algerian revolution. The latter include Khaled Nezzar, Mohamed Lamari, Mohamed Touati, Bennabes Gheziel, and others.

Shadow Currents

In addition to these two currents that divide top posts in the army almost equally and that have been competing almost openly for influence, especially since the beginning of this year, most observers think there are other currents active in the shadows. Although they have no official existence, their men are scattered in various army, government, and administrative bodies. These shadow currents feed the competition between the two first currents and work to swing the balance of power between them as the demands of their immediate interests and political ambitions dictate. The most prominent

of these are two currents thought to have great influence in the hidden effective decisionmaking centers behind the scenes in the government. The first is the current of veterans of the Oujda Group. The most prominent of them are General Larbi Belkheir (former interior minister and head of the president's office throughout President Bendjedid's rule), Sid Ahmed Ghozali (former prime minister), Aboubaker Belkaid (former minister of information), and Abdelaziz Bouteflika (Boumedienne's foreign minister). Some observers add the name of former president Bendjedid, although he is not known to have engaged in any political activity—at least publicly—since his removal from office in January 1992.

Interestingly, the "Oujda veterans" return to the fore on all occasions that witness major political changes. Their influence has become powerfully visible during the last three years with the establishment of a bloc opposed to late president Boudiaf's inclination to open the dossiers on bribery and corruption—an inclination that hastened his tragic end. Accusing fingers have also been pointed at this group in the assassination of Kasdi Merbah, who was also threatening to expose corruption.

This group became very prominent on another occasion when it tried late last year to appoint one of its members, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, president. However, Bouteflika, who is known for his diplomatic expertise, fearing that he might face the same difficulties that Zeroual today faces under the pressure of army hardliners, withdrew at the last minute.

The other shadow current, which some sources predict may see a strong resurgence, is the current that was attached to Kasdi Merbah. Little, however, is known about the names and positions of the members of this current and the extent of their influence. This is due to the tendency toward strict concealment for which Merbah was known ever since he was head of intelligence. What frightens observers most is that no reaction

to Merbah's assassination has yet come from this current. Some of those close to him had threatened to reveal the files on corruption that he had in his possession if the government did not make an effort to discover the real identities of those who planned his assassination. However, they have done nothing thus far. Perhaps they have been waiting for the politically favorable moment for it.

Army's Central Role

Despite the essential differences and conflicts between these various currents—conflicts that most observers think are moving much of the violence, the assassinations, and the liquidations of an increasing number of high and staff officers, many of which have been done by some of the armed Islamic organizations that have been surreptitiously penetrated by interest groups within the government—all these competing currents in the army are united on a basic point: maintaining a central role for the army in political life. They would do this by different formulas and strategies. Some who want the army to have a central role take their inspiration from the Turkish model—a regime based on modernization, democracy, and secularism. Closest to this model are the current of coup supporters led by Nezzar and Lamari and the current of Kasdi Merbah. Others propose another model involving dividing power between the FIS and military men, on the model of the Sudanese experience. The advocates of this solution are followers of President Zeroual. Some go so far as to consider handing over power almost completely to the Islamists, providing they obtain guarantees that there will be freedom of decisionmaking within the army, that the interests of high officers will not be prejudiced, and that they will not be tried for corruption or for police excesses and repression—in other words, a solution like that of General Pinochet in Chile. Proponents of this solution include the veterans of the Oujda Group led by General Larbi Belkheir. This solution seems to have been scheduled to have become part of President Bendjedid's strategy after the parliamentary elections, had the bloodless coup not toppled him in January 1992.

Advocates and Enemies of Dialogue

Basic Currents Competing in Army	"Coup Supporters" or "Eradicationists"	Advocates of Dialogue and National Reconciliation
Leaders	Gen. Khaled Nezzar, Lt. Gen. Mohamed Lamari	President Liamine Zeroual
Representatives in General Staff	Mohamed Mediene, director of investigation and security (intelligence); Bennabes Gheziel, head of police; Chaabane Ghodbane, naval chief	Mohamed Betchine, security advisor to the president; Salah Kaid, commander of land forces; Mohamed Benslimane, commander of air forces
Adherents in Defense Ministry Staff	General Mohamed Touati; Gen. Yahia Rahal; Gen. Ahmed Boustila; Gen. Mohamed Boutamine; Gen. Khalifa Rahim; Gen. Fodhil Saidi; Gen. Abdelhamid Djouadi	"Second-generation" military district commanders and central administrators educated by Zeroual himself at Cherchell academy
Base in army ranks	181 colonels and unit heads of different corps who signed the petition to remove President Bendjedid	Group of officers from eastern Algeria (Aures) known as the BTS Group

Sadi Discusses Rome, AMU, Presidential Elections

95AF0026A Algiers LE SOIR D'ALGERIE in French
28 Nov 94 pp 4-5

[Interview with Said Sadi, secretary general of the Rally for Culture and Democracy, by Malika Boussouf; place and date not given: "It Is Essential That There Be a Democrat"; introductory paragraph in boldface as published]

[FBIS Translated Text] After a long silence, the leader of the RCD [Rally for Culture and Democracy] and the MPR [Movement for the Republic] is dropping his reserve. The timing coincides with a political calendar that is very full but also very complex. Still never at a loss for words, he here attempts to make his contribution toward lifting the veil from a certain number of issues fueling the political debate of today and especially of the immediate future. The starting point for this interview is a look in the rear view mirror.

[Boussouf] Said Sadi, why such a long silence following the attack on the protest march of 29 June?

[Sadi] The attack on 29 June was not a trivial matter. It was a genuine turning point in national political life. For the first time since independence, a peaceful march organized by a citizens movement was attacked with bombs and gunfire. It was terrible to have to bury Algerians who wanted to express their support for the Boudiaf plan while also demanding the truth about his assassination. After that attack, it was necessary to rethink everything regarding political action in the field. The reactions by the political class and the government also called for reflection: the silence on the part of some and the comments—dubious to say the least—by certain others definitely pointed to some of the depressing events we have experienced since 29 June.

The Boudiaf plan was going to be combated without mercy. This is shown by the actions we have witnessed since that time.

Moreover, the political class, some members of which went so far as to express surprise or even regret that MPR leaders escaped unharmed, showed that hate was going to lead to developments that public opinion could not or would not have imagined previously. Those developments have also just come to light in Rome. The upheaval following the attack on 29 June acted as a sort of accelerator to political life. It was necessary to take that into account and continue the fight by more appropriate means while protecting as well as possible the freedom and lives of the citizens.

I believe that Algerians see things a little more clearly since 29 June. New points of reference have appeared, and new prospects are taking shape. After all, making the fight by democrats known abroad has taken a certain amount of time. There was a genuine lobby that had

made a career out of discrediting our positions. Resetting the clocks has required time, all the more since our chancelleries, disoriented by the government's compromises, have often remained silent.

[Boussouf] You mentioned Rome. At the initiative of an ecumenical organization close to the Vatican, those known as Islamo-populists met in the Italian capital to debate the Algerian crisis. Why weren't you there?

[Sadi] Because there is no reason to go to Rome and do what we have always refused to do in Algiers. It is natural that an organization should invite people or parties. And that Algerians should talk about their country, even abroad, is also their right. What led us to decline the invitation was our desire not to be the accomplices of murderers. (It was in Rome that one of the participants admitted to assassinating Boucebc and took responsibility for it.) In addition, we feel that discussions involving all the participants in Algerian political life cannot and must not take place outside Algeria, much less at the initiative of a foreign organization.

[Boussouf] Even if the intention was good?

[Sadi] I don't know what the intentions of the organizers were. If their objective was to bring Christians closer to Muslims, it seems, in view of Algerian reactions, that that was not the right way to go about it. The Algerians—wrongly, in my opinion—had the view that Christian "arbitration" of a divided Islam as an insult. From that standpoint, and even though the Vatican eventually distanced itself, the initiative was counterproductive to say the least. It is certainly necessary and useful for the church, the mosque, and the synagogue to establish and strengthen their ties.

In this case, we must believe that the process, the timing, and the participants were rather poorly chosen. On a more political level, the initiative seems inopportune. It was just when the Algerians were discovering, at the cost we all know, the impossibility of a dissolution of political Islamism through a democratic process that there was suddenly an unexpected initiative on the part of Rome in an attempt to bring things back to square one.

The sudden appearance of religion in the political arena is always frightening, no matter which religion is involved. I would like to point out in passing that our Tunisian friends expressed extreme irritation following that episode.

But once again, it is not the organizers of that meeting who are the issue. What was sad to watch was those old militants ending their political life at an obscure and short-lived meeting in Rome. Jugurtha [a Numidian king in the time of the Roman Empire] ended his days in the Eternal City, but he was taken there by force. Other days, other ways.

[Boussouf] If you don't mind, let us stay on the subject of foreign policy closer to home. Egypt has just asked to join the AMU [Arab Maghreb Union]. What do you think of that move?

[Sadi] Legally, the AMU's statutes provide for new members under certain conditions. But in this case, the legal aspect is completely secondary. The important thing to be considered is obviously the political aspect in terms of motivation and the many implications. And on that subject, as usual, there is a total blackout regarding the ins and outs of Egypt's membership. Personally, I was contacted on the eve of the meeting at the Aurassi—at 2215 hours—and told that the minister of foreign affairs was "inviting" me to attend the meeting with his colleagues in the AMU. Since I did not know the agenda or the reasons that suddenly led our officials to include us in a meeting by the AMU, I declined. And like everyone else, I learned about the application for membership from the press.

[Boussouf] You have not answered my question: What is your point of view regarding this matter?

[Sadi] For lack of information, we can only speculate.

[Boussouf] Let us speculate.

[Sadi] Two possibilities can be imagined. The first is that Egypt's application is motivated primarily by considerations of political urgency.

Since Egypt and Algeria are the two countries being confronted most immediately and most seriously by fundamentalism, they presumably have some interest in uniting their efforts within the same organization. On the Algerian side, there would also be the desire to get out of a risky face-to-face encounter with Morocco. Bringing a powerhouse into the AMU would help dilute the bipolar antagonism that has poisoned the Maghreb to a considerable extent.

The other, more basic, reasons that might explain the Egyptian move without completely justifying it could have something to do with a degree of disillusionment with the Arab world that Cairo, having been burned by a succession of marriages all ending in sensational divorces, would like to break away from. Hence a reorientation of its aspirations toward the North and the West.

Will Egypt's new tropism supplant its traditional Eastern bias? I have no idea. But the fact remains that for several years now, Egypt has been operating a French academy for over 5,000 cadres with a view to a new projection of Egyptian influence in French-speaking Africa. Let us not forget that Egypt is a full-fledged member of the organization of French-speaking countries. But if it is a question of rebuilding a kind of new version of the Arab League based in Algiers or Cairo, the purpose of such a move is hard to understand. Moving the epicenter of Arab problems to the Maghreb does not mean that they will be handled better.

The Maghreb is a recognized geopolitical entity. Its socioeconomic and cultural homogeneity is obvious. Underlying all of that is a historical substrate much more powerful than the temporary conflicts arising here and

there. So the question is: Will the addition of Egypt further establish a pre-existing entity or hamper its full realization?

As you can see, we are still in the realm of theories. I expect to discuss them with His Excellency the Egyptian ambassador, with whom I will soon meet, since I am scheduled to pass through Cairo on my way to Gaza and Jericho.

[Boussouf] Let us get back to domestic politics. The "amazigh" [Berber] issue has held center stage for three months. What outcome do you foresee?

[Sadi] The question of Algerian identity and for that matter all our major national concerns have remained unresolved not for three months but for three decades, with their resolution wavering between negation and repression. Let us say that for almost three months now, the "amazigh" question has been posed in massive fashion continuously and by the people. But despite exceptional unanimity, the government is following its eternal practice and having recourse to intrigue and manipulation. Instead of getting in step with the popular will and with history, it is gambling on an eventual loss of interest in the issue and on the divisions...

[Boussouf] Which are very real...

[Sadi] And very normal. I am the founder of this movement, and I know that it would never enter anyone's mind to say that "I possess the solution to the 'amazigh' question." That would make no sense. Look at what is happening in the world of labor unions: Several organizations are managing to unite in action. Recently, to mention the situation in France, the CGT [General Confederation of Labor], the CFTD [French Democratic Confederation of Labor], and the FO [Workers Force] demonstrated together in making common demands.

Relying on petty quarreling to resolve an issue this important reflects both political shortsightedness and political paralysis. The indecisiveness surrounding this issue is the underlying component of the divisions—much more serious for the country—that are undermining the government.

[Boussouf] Perhaps it is afraid that things will get out of control.

[Sadi] Anyone can see that for the moment, that has not happened in the field, and we can be glad of it. Concerning the political aspect, it must be admitted that the MCB [Berber Cultural Movement] has acted more responsibly than the government. As regards both the management and the formulation of that demand.

What is involved here is not a regional fight but a democratic and national requirement. It is not a matter of turning in on oneself. If it were, our generation, which took up that demand, would have failed in its mission. On the contrary, it is a matter of recovering the

"amazigh" heritage as a minimum heritage common to all Algerians and not only them but everyone in the Maghreb.

It is because Algerian identity has been mutilated that we find ourselves with young people having no values or reference points and killing while proclaiming themselves to be Afghans, Sudanese, or who knows what else. Beyond the problem of language, which is certainly important, there is a failure of identity in Algeria. One cannot build anything durable on denial. The parents and teachers to whom Algeria ought to pay tremendous tribute have well understood the importance of what is at stake.

That being said, it is true that in this struggle, there is a lack of communication linked to the dual constraint constituted by a lack of resources and by disinformation on the part of the government. It is the duty of all democrats to make the necessary effort so that Algerians will realize that far from dividing us, the struggle for identity is above all a dynamic for bringing us together. The reappropriation of our identity is the best antidote we can use against the fundamentalism which, basically, is also posing the problem of a denial of identity. On the day when 20 April is celebrated by all in Tlemcen, Algiers, Bejaia, Annaba, Batna, and elsewhere, Algeria will have nothing to fear from the agitation—even bloody—that is caused by the tools of the fundamentalist internationale.

May the government finally realize that it is not serving the interests of the country by digging in its heels and persisting in dilatory maneuvers.

[Boussouf] Despite apparent attempts to restart it, dialogue is at a standstill. What do we do now?

[Sadi] We warned of this from the start. By trying too hard to mix water and fire, one often succeeds only in drowning some and burning others. What is it all about? A very determined political group with its money, its objectives, and its international tools is set on imposing its law on the country. That group has caused social misery that is harming young people—its political oxygen—in particular. Instead of satisfying the social demands of those young people—and Algeria can afford to do so—and remaining firmly on the foundations of the state, the government has done exactly the opposite. There is merciless repression of young people and endless compromising with the very same people who led them into terrorism. The results are there to see: Since the assassination of President Boudiaf, every retreat has been immediately transformed into additional aggression by religious extremism. The results are 80 deaths per day, devastation of educational and socioeconomic facilities worth billions of dinars, and an increasingly discredited image of the country abroad.

Without the multifaceted resistance of the citizens, the state would have collapsed long ago. The release of Lounes Matoub is there to remind us that provided that

there is will and determination, the sorcerer's apprentices will retreat. Every time a religious party has been allowed to do as it pleases, social rifts and bloody confrontations have always followed. There is no exception to that rule. Only the Algerian Government is still fascinated by bloody humiliation.

But the Algerian case serves as an example. Here is a country ruined by the government and fundamentalism but one that is being saved by its citizens. It is a lesson that history will remember.

[Boussouf] You have called for presidential elections as the way to overcome the crisis. Do you believe that such a step will be effective?

[Sadi] I am a democrat, and I am demanding the sanction of the ballot box for all those claiming to support democracy. I have talked about presidential elections because in these confused times, it is easier for the citizen to choose among three, four, or even five candidates than to be faced with 60 or so parties, as would be the case if there were legislative elections. Is it possible in fact to hold those elections? I don't know anything about that. Are the voter lists maintained by the Ministry of Interior being kept up to date when municipal administration is practically paralyzed? Has the sizable migration of people due to the violence around them been carefully assessed to ensure that everyone's correct place of residence is known? Will security be restored so that a real election campaign can take place? Will government departments and the media be returned to their proper role of serving the public or is it likely, as is already happening, that they will become propaganda instruments for the government's candidate? The temptation to return to the leaden years is very strong among conservatives. The arbitrary actions weighing upon the independent press every day are there to remind us of that. But those are the minimum requirements that must be met if we really want to hold serious elections—that is, elections free of skulduggery and with a substantial rate of participation capable of giving the new regime legitimacy and credibility.

[Boussouf] Would it be premature to ask you if you might be a candidate?

[Sadi] The National Council will meet soon. The presidential election is one of the items on the agenda. But one thing is already certain: it is essential to the country's future that there be a democrat in the presidential race.

If we find ourselves in a situation reducing the citizens to a choice between a known or disguised fundamentalist and the government's candidate, that will be a real disaster. It will mean that the current confrontation has finally been transposed to the electoral level. In other words, nothing will have been resolved. If we democrats accept our fight and if we clearly realize that that fight permits every ambition merited by our sacrifices, those elections may be the historic turning point enabling the Algeria of November and "Summam" [place in the

Kabyle region where a significant pre-November revolution conference took place] to realize its potential in peace, progress, and democracy. Let us be certain of our convictions and make that election the crowning achievement of struggles that very few peoples have pursued with such rigor and determination in such a short time.

[Boussouf] I asked you that question because many people feel that at the rate things are going, your generation is likely to wait a long time for the torch that they have been promising to pass on to it since 1988.

[Sadi] The only one who really wanted to pass on that torch was Boudiaf. As for the rest, the pathetic posturing in Rome is there to remind us that even though reduced to fruitless agitation, our former leaders are not ready to accept their retirement. That being said, a torch may be passed on, but it can also be grabbed or even relighted.

[Boussouf] How do you see the future? Yours and that of the country?

[Sadi] My personal future is that of all Algerians fighting in the field for their country. Political responsibility does not make things easier. To some extent, it makes them more complex. That leaves the future of the national community. The gains and advances recorded over the past three years have been innumerable. I know that Algerians may feel legitimately tired. I also know that hunger is tearing at the stomachs of millions of children abandoned to the streets and, increasingly, to illiteracy. Social misery because of unemployment and inflation is making life unbearable for the majority of our fellow citizens. I met a family in Bir Mourad-Rais that had no choice but to buy five or six packets of milk every day and curdle it for use as the family's only food. Every day we bury our people's best children, and yet, even though destitute and in mourning, Algerians have retained admirable dignity.

Few peoples have struggled with such bravery. The teachers, journalists, and young students carrying on their occupations at the risk of their lives are a reason for pride that more than compensates for the disrepute of a regime that has demeaned itself. Algeria means 22 March, 20 April, and 29 June: It means resistance by the citizens, who are reinserting their country into contemporary history. It was not easy to escape the grip of the single party and contain its fundamentalist heir. We are living in a crucial period.

So many myths have collapsed and so many fears have been overcome in the space of three years. Algerians are in the process of mastering their destiny. We have attacked the basic problems affecting the very nature of power and the future of society. Political manipulation of religion, economic dogmatism, the question of identity, and freedom of information have been tackled head-on. Other peoples have taken decades to smash such taboos. We have paid a high price, but we are finally emerging from the populist tunnel. I would like to

persuade my fellow citizens to share my conviction that Algeria will be a fine democracy. That is the future for our country. Our great country.

Boukhamkham, Jedi Discuss Dialogue, Elections

95AF0027A London *FILASTIN AL-MUSLIMAH* in Arabic 1 Dec 94 pp 39-41

[Report of interview with Ali Jedi and Abdelkader Boukhamkham, leaders of the Islamic Salvation Front in Algeria, by Lutfi Bin-Ramadan; place and date not given; first paragraph *FILASTIN AL-MUSLIMAH* introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] Algiers, London—We have been trying to contact Ali Jedi and Abdelkader Boukhamkham, leaders of the Islamic Salvation Front [FIS] in Algeria since the Algerian authorities released them from detention as a prelude to starting a dialogue with the FIS. However, security conditions did not allow it. Finally we were able to meet with them and ask them about the latest developments in Algeria and the FIS leadership's view of the coming stage.

[Bin-Ramadan] How do you assess the situation in Algeria now, and how far have you gone in the negotiations with the authority?

[Answer] Algeria has been living for the past three years under the rule of an authority that has lost all legitimacy. It has prevented the people from living under the canopy of an Islamic state, which is the fruit of the struggle of its generations. The people confirmed their support for this state in the first free multiparty elections in the country. A small group, nurtured by colonialism or communism, has detached itself from the Algerian Muslim people's revolution. This group has unilaterally assumed power and plundered the country's resources. It has dragged the country into a complex crisis in which security and stability have been lost, the cost of living and unemployment has increased, food and medicines have become rare, the economy has come to a standstill, and destruction has replaced development. Although the interest on debts has consumed all the state's revenue from its natural resources, the government's policy has continued to be based on further borrowing, even on unbearable terms, to cover the cost of its repressive policy.

We hear daily about mass arrests, torture, and the disappearance of detainees. We hear about the mass killing of detainees in areas where popular resistance operations take place. They mutilate bodies to terrorize and subdue the people. Artillery and aircraft bombard mountain residents. Forests are set on fire with the people living in them. Houses are blown up and property looted during sweeps by disguised forces. They drag the few people who escape death to prisons, which have become overcrowded with tens of thousands of people. Detainees' cases are heard in special courts before disguised judges.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

The authority has repeatedly been talking about dialogue, particularly on national and international occasions. The crisis has been going on for three years, with three presidents and four governments taking office. Nevertheless, not one session of negotiations has been held with the legitimate and credible parties that can discuss the affairs of this nation. Even the bilateral and multilateral contacts and discussions have made no progress and have not produced any practical measures that meet the requirements of a solution. They have made only some calculated steps for propaganda purposes.

[Bin-Ramadan] Do you think the Algerian crisis can still be solved through dialogue and negotiations, or has the situation become so bad that there is no other way but a military solution?

[Answer] People who have been following the developments in Algeria know that the authority is the one that has chosen the military solution after the people rejected this authority in the elections. So far it has not opened the way to another solution that could return the country to legitimacy. This is despite the fact that the people, the national political and social forces, and the international community support a negotiated political solution. Only the authority's intransigence is standing in the way. The authority has shunned all the reform forces in society and sided with an isolated minority that still on the French Government's economic, diplomatic, and media support. The authority has stated that the military option is not satisfactory. However, when it opens the door to a political solution, it hastens to close it, because it fears for its existence and the interests of its allies. We think that all the internal and external forces are ready for a political solution. The authority's failure to respond might be due to its inability to achieve a political solution, because it has no credible popular support or political base.

[Bin-Ramadan] Some people doubt the FIS's ability to control the Islamic arena (the reference here is to the Armed Islamic Group [GIA]) and fulfill its promises if it reaches an agreement with the authority. What is your response to this?

[Answer] We have no doubt about the Muslim Algerian people's loyalty nor the loyalty of the FIS members. These are people whom misfortunes, enticements, threats, and falsehoods have not shaken. Support for the Islamic state and FIS has even increased. The grave ordeal has, in fact, dispelled many fears created by the enemies of the Islamic solution in the national and international political communities. The realization of the need to enable the FIS to regain its legitimate right to assume the national responsibility, entrusted to it by the people to solve the problems facing the country, has also increased.

As to those people who doubt the FIS's ability to control the Islamic arena and fulfill its promises, we would like

to know what alternative they have. We draw the attention of the skeptics that the FIS is confident—God willing—of its success in achieving a fair legitimate reform. The armed opposition, which resulted from the authority's deviation from legitimacy and violation of the people's will, will choose, in our opinion, the solution that will prevent bloodshed and safeguard property when it becomes convinced that such a solution will make it possible for peace and Islam to be achieved, the people's will to reform their religious and political life to be respected, and the oppression imposed on innocent people to be removed.

[Bin-Ramadan] One of the FIS's conditions for negotiations with the authority was the convening of its consultative council. Who is in this council? Does it include Mohamed Said, Abderrezak Redjam and other leaders who have joined the GIA?

[Answer] Do you think that enabling the FIS leadership to meet and hold consultations within the framework of legitimacy and freedom is a condition? This is a right without which we cannot carry out any political work. The FIS did not make any preconditions. Its leadership's proposals referred to essential requirements that cannot be overlooked. These proposals involved the following practical measures:

First: Lifting political and judicial injustices. The foremost of these are releasing the FIS members, closing detention camps, and eliminating the special courts and suspending their sentences.

Second: The return to legitimacy. The foremost of these are lifting the ban on the FIS, accepting the popular, constitutional, and legal legitimacy within the framework of Islamic principles, and searching for a solution with legitimate parties.

Third: Ending the unjust restrictions. The foremost of these are the restrictions on personal and collective freedoms in the political, media, Islamic appeal, and charitable work fields.

Fourth: Ending attacks against our Muslim people, which involve killing, torture, displacement, shelling, looting, burning, the arrest of innocent people, and the arbitrary dismissal of workers.

I must state here that these proposals were the result of consultations with the FIS's consultative council members with whom we were able to get in touch. They were also the subject of contacts and discussions with political parties, social and national figures, and representatives of the authority.

[Bin-Ramadan] Many Islamists are afraid that a military solution in favor of the FIS could lead to a flare-up among the Islamists themselves, as has happened in Afghanistan. They consider the assassination of some leaders of the Islamic Society Movement [HAMAS] as a prelude to this. What is your opinion?

[Answer] We are sorry to see how things have developed among the mujahidin in Afghanistan after God has granted them victory over communism. We call on them to settle their differences according to God's book and the Prophet's tradition and sayings and enable the Muslim Afghan people to exercise their legitimate right to choose their capable and trustworthy representatives. We call on them to frustrate the designs of those who are plotting against the fruits of their struggle. They want them to serve as a bad example of people fighting over leadership and material things after having served as a good example in struggle and martyrdom.

As for the Islamists' increased fear about the future, this is a weakness that requires spiritual and political treatment. Shunning reality and the course of history and making inappropriate comparisons are wrong. The FIS is a religious and political movement. It has become reconciled between its adherence to the Shari'ah and work with the people, on the one hand, and cooperation with the reform forces in society, on the other. God willing, it will continue to be faithful to its course, even if the armed popular opposition is able to impose on the authority the return to legitimacy by force. The FIS will continue to uphold the Algerian Muslim people's right to be led by choice and not by force, by consent and not by coercion.

Killing in Algeria takes place every day amid media silence and blackout. The few assassinations that took place and enjoyed media coverage should be investigated to uncover their perpetrators and purpose and who stands to benefit from them. We pray to Almighty God to spare us any action that contradicts the Shari'ah, harms the people, or destroys the nation's unity.

[Bin-Ramadan] In contrast to the united position of the secular forces toward the Islamic project, the Islamic forces are divided (the FIS, HAMAS [Islamic Resistance Movement], al-Nahdah, the Islamic Group [GIA]). Are attempts being made to overcome this situation?

[Answer] The secular forces are not alone in opposing the Islamic project. In this hostility, they agree with other groups that have illegitimate interests and advantages. They receive material, financial, diplomatic, and media support from rancorous foreign forces conspiring against Islam and the Arabs in Algeria. On the other hand, their agreement on principles has eased the conflict in interests and syphoned off the hate among the established national and Islamic parties and organizations. We hope that the Islamic movement will become united, especially as it is being targeted. It must unite as it did during the blessed liberation revolution.

[Bin-Ramadan] Observers of the Algerian situation claim that if the FIS assumes power, it will abolish democratic life (parties, freedom of the press). What is your response to that?

[Answer] How did these observers forget the danger of military rule and repressive policy to democratic life in

Algeria? If they had not abolished democracy, what did the president's official spokesperson mean when he said that the state intended to restore democracy? Do we not have sufficient proof in the testimony of some European and American ministers and experts that the situation would not have reached this point had the parties that won the elections been left to run the country? The FIS has accepted the multiparty system and experienced it in municipal and regional councils. It tried to coexist with the various authorities since the era of the one party rule. Not only has it recognized the freedom of political, media, trade union, religious, and charitable work, but the FIS has demanded and defended it.

[Bin-Ramadan] Does the FIS accept new elections or is it insisting on the resumption of the elections that the military overturned?

[Answer] The FIS is not afraid of new elections. It will continue to insist that the Algerian Muslim people choose the programs and people that will represent them within the framework of Islam.

[Bin-Ramadan] How does the FIS view the relationship of an Islamic Algeria with its regional and international environment? How does it view the future of its economic relations with the Western countries, in particular?

[Answer] Algeria is envied for its strategic location, economic resources, and its African, Arab, and Islamic position. This has prompted international forces to compete to win the lead in dealing with it and having influence in it. Only a strong legitimate authority working with the people and responding to their aspirations can safeguard Algeria's interests. Algeria cannot remain isolated from the world. International forces are calling for dialogue and expanding the government's social base in Algeria. They primarily want to safeguard their economic and strategic interests. Yet, they overlook the military authority's repressive actions. This destroys the principles of their culture in democracy and human rights. We want to reassure the international community that reciprocal interests with a legitimate authority capable of honoring its commitments will be more enhanced under the canopy of peace and Islam. The interests of both sides can be maintained without conflict of principles.

The authority and some parties and figures are spreading alarm about the effects that the establishment of an Islamic state would have on Algeria's regional, Islamic, and international environment. This is just an illusion through which the authority is seeking to win the support of the West, as the last bastion that can protect it against alleged dangers. We do not think states that respect the values of their culture and attach importance to the interests of their people will overlook the fact that these are the worst parties that can defend their principles and interests because of their political and moral bankruptcy.

[Bin-Ramadan] How does the FIS view the Berber problem and its solution?

[Answer] The revival of cultures that preceded Islam does not affect Algeria alone. We find the Berber culture in the Arab Maghreb, Pharaonic culture in Egypt, the Phoenician and Babel cultures in Syria and Iraq, and so forth. The French and other media's concentration on the so-called Berber problem in Algeria, particularly in the tribal region, might conceal an attempt to undermine national unity and the basis of the Islamic and Arab nation.

The FIS thinks that the tribal region is an indivisible part of Algeria. It is Muslim and has duties and responsibilities like other parts of the country. No chauvinism can take precedence over the Algerians people's feeling of belonging to one homeland, one people, and one nation with an immortal divine message, Arab in language and international in appeal.

As for the Berber cultural movement's strong demand to have the Tamazight language taught, the authority is making no attempt to suppress this demand. Yet, it is trying to suppress the FIS and its supporters. This issue must not be used for political exploitation. A qualified educational and cultural body should resolve it, without partisan or foreign mandate, under peace and the Shari'ah.

[Bin-Ramadan] What can you say to the readers of FILASTIN AL-MUSLIMAH?

[Answer] We salute the readers of FILASTIN AL-MUSLIMAH and appeal to them to remain faithful to the slogan of FILASTIN AL-MUSLIMAH until victory is achieved, God willing.

FIS Statement Unveils Truth About Security Developments in Algeria

The executive committee of the FIS outside of Algeria has issued a statement on the developments in the dialogue between the FIS and the authority and the reasons for its failure. The statement also explains the operations attributed to the mujahidin that the authority has exploited. The statement says:

The planned abortion of the proposed negotiated solution, which was written for [Algerian President] General Zeroual and announced by him in a speech the evening of 1 November, was the first link in a dangerous chain of conspiracies designed to prepare national and international public opinion, on the political and information levels, to condone the ruling military clique's wide-scale repressive actions to plant fear and terror in the hearts of the people. Therefore, this speech, and what might follow it, will be more serious than the suspension of the elections and the coup against legitimacy in January 1992. Signs of this have begun appearing on the horizon. These include the following:

1. At least 1,000 people, most of them innocent civilians, killed between 1 and 9 November. They were killed and their mutilated bodies thrown on the streets to frighten and terrorize the people.

2. A cowardly operation is carried out cunningly by the military intelligence against the boy scouts. Cameramen are brought to the scene of the crime a day before to videotape the incident and show the provocative scenes on television to incite the people to kill each other and divert attention from the real perpetrators.

3. Two girls are savagely slaughtered by the same intelligence service as an act of revenge against their family, because their brothers are mujahidin and their parents support the Islamic project. The armed Islamic groups are blamed for the crime on the pretext that they reject temporary marriage, which is prohibited by the Sunni. Marriage cannot take place by force, let alone by killing!

4. In an attempt to keep these and other crimes away from the attention of the people, the information minister sends an ultimatum to the media. He then suspends the daily AL-UMMAH and the weekly AL-WAJH AL-AKHAR. So, media suppression followed physical and political suppression to assassinate the truth in the dark.

5. Weapons are distributed to some agents of the authority. Lists are prepared for the distribution of more weapons so people will kill each other and push the country to a devastating civil war, God forbid.

6. In an attempt to create a demagogic atmosphere to cover up the military clique's crimes, the authority threatened to use force to make people close their shops and go out to demonstrate in its support. Schools are closed for one week during demonstrations. Trucks are used to carry police and army forces in civilian clothes to shout slogans in favor of the ruling clique and suppress the people when necessary. The authority carries out these actions to cover up crimes it has committed and the more savage crimes it intends to commit. The authority has recently received modern electronic equipment and thousands of internationally banned bombs from a European state. These bombs can choke any neighborhood within a one kilometer radius by sucking the oxygen. Part of the equipment has arrived in the Jijel area.

We denounce the international community's shocking and disgraceful silence toward these serious conditions though which our people are passing. We also denounce and condemn all the terrorist operations against innocent civilians, particularly women and children, and all actions that affect the interests of the nation and people. We draw attention to the existence of a serious plot, whose dimensions are only known to God. This plot is being hatched in secret against Algeria and its people, with the participation of foreign parties, to impoverish and humiliate the Algerian people to facilitate their domination. Therefore, we say, as God has said through the faithful: "Sufficient unto us is God; He is our best defender."

We call on the Algerian people to be more brotherly and united to frustrate the designs of the enemy at home and

abroad, acting according to God's command: "And hold fast, all together, by the rope that God stretches out for you, and be not divided among yourselves."

Iraq

Alleged Support by French Cabinet for Iraqi Position

95LH0050A Paris AL-MUHARRIR in Arabic 31 Oct 94 p 13

[Article by Dominique Jarbou, chairperson of the Presidential Press League in France]

[FBIS Translated Text] Since France has been ruled by the right under the leadership of Prime Minister Edouard Balladur and the left under President Francois Mitterrand, the Council of Ministers' meetings, every Wednesday, have not been long, because the prime minister and the ministers have nothing to say to the president. No common language or policies exist between them. However, foreign policy has united them, particularly the policy toward the Arab world. Complete agreement exists between right and left on this issue.

I can reveal some discussions that took place in the Council of Ministers Wednesday morning, 19 October. The discussion dealt mainly with Iraq. Yes, the issue of Iraq—and perhaps this was unusual—has aroused an extensive discussion between President Mitterrand and the ministers. President Mitterrand tried to underline a fact: The United States decided to undertake the recent operation in the Gulf to satisfy a domestic need. Mitterrand said, among other things: "President Clinton wanted to flex his muscles to influence public opinion in his country!" Defense Minister Francois Leotard followed suit and said: "Saddam Husayn's action was not without reason, and was not innocent as it may have appeared at first. However, I am confident that he was not at fault as far as international law is concerned. We have no right to prevent him from moving his forces inside the borders of his country. The international ban is limited to aircraft only." Continuing to speak on the same subject, the president said: "You must know that we are not obliged to follow the United States in such cases. We must be careful. Do not forget that we are not embarking on a new alliance against Iraq this time. The new Iraqi operation and the subsequent U.S. military movements are domestic affairs of Iraq and the United States." Defense Minister Leotard added: "I was always fully convinced that this issue, and the alleged Iraqi threat, are deception and lie. The French army command did not have any doubt at any moment that Saddam Husayn's army was not planning to intervene in Kuwait."

This discussion in the Council of Ministers reflected a prevailing and acceptable French view. It is no longer a secret that the French authorities want gradually to draw closer to Iraq. Several French parliamentary delegations have visited Baghdad. An extremely important man

sponsors these visits. He is General Lacasse. He is a brilliant French officer who has turned to commercial and political work. He was army chief of staff, one of the highest positions in the French army. When he retired, he turned to politics. He first wanted to establish a political party. When he failed in his attempt, he joined a small political organization, midway between the right wing of the Gaullist Party and the extremist rightist party led by Jean Marie Le Pen. This organization is called the National Center of Independents. He was unable to secure the leadership of this organization, although he won in the European elections and became a deputy in the European Parliament in 1989. But he lost his seat in the 1994 elections, because the electoral lists were ready and adding his name to one of them was difficult. This has prompted him to shun politics and enter the business field. He apparently was successful in this field, because of the many friends he had in the world and his knowledge of distant countries, particularly in the Middle East. Today he is the key man in the rapprochement between Iraq and France. Of course, it is too early to speak about a major breakthrough, at least from the official point of view. However, what is certain is that a strong Iraqi lobby has returned to the arena.

As for Dassault, he apparently is not interested in Iraq now. The famous military aircraft manufacturer is busy selling his most technologically advanced aircraft, the Rafale, to Saudi Arabia. He also has good relations with the United Arab Emirates. Iraq, therefore, was not an advantage to him.

The other person who is seeking to achieve a rapprochement with Iraq is Michel Jupper. He was very close to Prime Minister Balladur, and in some way is the best man for important secret missions. Since trade with Iraq is subject to French and international control, such missions demand a reliable person. Jupper says: "The recent Iraqi actions are an inevitable result of the relentless efforts to deprive Iraq of its main oil resources." He adds: "France, which was deceived on all levels in the Desert Storm operation, has no desire to play the role of the devil's advocate."

Trade relations between Iraq and France will be resumed sooner or later. French exports to Iraq this year exceeded \$2 million. The trade was limited to food and medicine. Trade could rise even more if Iraq undertakes to pay for its imports from France. It probably cannot pay now, but in the future. France is playing the card of rapprochement with Iraq for all these reasons.

Report on Construction, Size of Communication Towers

95LH0040A Baghdad ALIF BA' in Arabic 2 Nov 94 p 17

[Article by Suhayl 'Abd-al-Wahid: "Towers Embracing the Sky"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the forefront of targets in the 30-nation aggression against Iraq were television, radio,

and microwave transmission towers. This was an effort to strangle the Iraqi voice by severing all channels of communications and information that connects it to the world in order to isolate the people from each other.

In the campaign for development and construction, part of the energies of the activists was directed to these towers and how to reconstruct and develop them and especially, to excel in reaching tremendous elevations so that Iraq would enter the arena of tower construction, having them proudly towering overhead like the will of its great people.

The engineer 'Abd-al-Karim Kadim, director of the civil plans section at the consulting office of the Jihad General Establishment affirmed: "Excellence is evident in the tremendous elevations that have been achieved in communication towers. When we were commissioned by the director of the Military Industrialization organization to attempt to reach elevations in the area of 200 meters, we set out to prepare the required plans and began to design al-'Amarah tower whose height reached 220 meters. It was designed, manufactured, and assembled in Maysan governorate. It was followed by designs for other towers like Baghdad tower in Abu Ghayb with an elevation of 321 meters. It is remarkable for having two contracting sections in it, meaning that the measurements of the tower are reduced twice, from bottom to top. Then there is al-Mawsil tower with an elevation of 320 meters and al-Basrah tower with the same elevation and Um Qasar tower which is considered to be the highest tower we have managed to complete so far, which is 520 meters high. These towers cover the requirements for television and radio transmissions.

"We have also designed the towers of Taribil and Daraman in Kirkuk with an elevation of 320 meters. We also completed the designs for Sunam tower in al-Basrah governorate with an elevation of 70 meters. It was set up on high ground that had an elevation of 210 meters. This is in addition to other towers that are either completed or in the design stage. The work on these towers is ongoing so as to cover the requirements of the consuming agencies, the ministry of culture and information, and the ministry of transport and communications."

As the engineer 'Abd-al-Karim Kadim says, towers come in different types and heights. Some are low elevation towers specifically meant for local telephonic communications, and some are towers for local observation purposes with elevations of 70 meters."

He adds: "We designed television and radio transmission towers and electricity towers. We also designed communications towers with elevations of 100 meters." He continues:

"We began work on towers in 1991. In the circumstances of the embargo, we were obliged to rely on materials that were available locally, in addition to what had been salvaged from the sections of towers that were destroyed

during the 30-nation aggression. This is because most towers that have now been remounted, were subjected to the brutal aggression.

"The existing towers are replacements for the towers that were shelled at that time.

"It is distinguished and exerting work worthy of the pride of the diligent. For the first time in the country, the Military Industrialization Organization, represented by its consulting office under the supervision of the towers committee under the chairmanship of Dr. 'Isam Jasim Kadim, the technical expert in the agency, is designing television towers in the context of specialized work that is unique in the world and which, formerly, had been the monopoly of the large foreign companies. Nonetheless, engineering work teams were able to design, manufacture, and implement these giant towers with Iraqi talents."

Situations Worthy of Pride

The engineer 'Abd-al-Karim Kadim says: "We had no materials to begin manufacturing and assembling towers. But we were able to make use of the debris of destroyed towers in manufacturing complex sections that were equivalent to the standardized foreign sections that were unavailable in the country because of the circumstances of the embargo. The derrick or lifting lever that was designed and manufactured by Nasr Establishments for Mechanical Industries is one aspect of the excellent accomplishment. This is the first time that such a lever has been manufactured in the country.

"The linking material between sections of iron cables is called al-tawj [as published], and it serves to link cables with each other. It was manufactured for the first time within the country by al-Nida' General Establishments for the Manufacture of Dies as a replacement for foreign or imported materials. This has enabled the engineering cadre to use the remains of cables after the shelling to provide longer cables."

In some towers like al-Basrah tower, and because of technical circumstances that are unique, the consulting office of was able to prepare designs at the site of the destroyed tower itself in order to use the original concrete supports that are located at the base of the foundation underground and to pound new supports next to them. This is in addition to using the concrete foundations to pull the iron cables that stabilize the tower. There was also the capability to use the buildings next to the location that is connected with the mentioned television tower.

In addition to Jihad General Establishment, the implementation of tower construction is distributed to several parties. They are the General Establishment for the Manufacture of Automobiles, the General Establishment for Iron and steel, Fao General Establishment, and the General Engineering Establishment for Heavy Industry.

For design considerations, support for towers can come from cables or from an independent support that has foundations established in the ground. They are wide and rely on a joint underneath that can be imagined as

the joint of a hand as the tower supports itself on it at a central point on the foundation. This is in addition to the cables that are distributed at levels equal to the height of the tower and at angles of 120 degrees.

The engineering cadre was able to employ computers to design towers and to develop special programs for communications towers.

The engineering and technical agency of the ministry of culture and information contributed whatever information and technical specifications that were available to it for the purpose of preparing the designs and implementing them.

"Tower climbers" is the expression that referred to those workers who were able to reach higher and higher in spite of the enormous strength of the winds at the summit of the tower. This is in addition to the very low temperatures in winter that occurred during construction work on some towers. However, those "climbers" reached heights that exceed 320 meters on the first try and during the coming stages, their climbing will reach heights of 520 meters.

This work enabled Iraqi engineers to gain incomparable experience in the field of designing, manufacturing, and implementing iron towers. Presently, there is a work team at Military Industrialization Organization that is capable of completing such jobs beginning with the design stage up to the operational stage, be it inside the country or outside it and without seeking help from any party, be it within the agency or outside the country.

Sharp Rising Prices Subject of Editorial

95LH0045A Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic
6 Nov 94 p 2

[Editorial by Sabah al-Lami: "Let There Be Moderation on Prices, Let There Be Moderation With People"]

[FBIS Translated Text] With the first (fat) salary to be received by employees, sweetened with the 2,000 dinars [ID], food merchants and greengrocers catapulted prices of items on modest Iraqi tables by increases of between 50 and 100 percent.

Eggplant was sold yesterday for ID100, while last week the price was ID50. Squash was sold for ID90 (the old price: ID40), tomatoes for ID150 (the old price: ID75), potatoes for ID275 (the old price: ID90)!

Green beans were sold for ID100, dried beans for ID900, yellow onions for ID75, carrots for ID50, spinach for ID75, long string beans for ID75, green peppers for ID80, green onions with leaves for ID60 and without leaves for ID75, lentils for ID350, sugar for ID450, brown flour for ID110, white [yellow] flour for ID150, mung beans for ID240, red beans for ID500, sesame seeds for ID500, yeast for ID1,000 per kg, groats for ID200, pearl-wheat for ID300, and oil for ID500 (the old

price: ID300). As for lamb, it was sold yesterday for ID700, while beef was sold for ID600!!

One wonders what is left to be said when prices are so shamelessly high? How many thousands does the Iraqi employee earn in salary so as to enable him to struggle against such pricing insanity which savagely tears into any increase that the state bestows on those with limited income to enable them to subsist at the lowest level that protects family members from real starvation. This is after having come to expect no more than the minimum of their three meals a day.

Merchants, salesmen, and all those who deal with the market and prices have not demonstrated during the entire four years anything but what exposes their craving for illegal gains and the highest possible profits. That is why it is incumbent upon the state and its competent organs, which grant people (especially those of limited income) the opportunity to breathe under water (the water of prices) to deal with this matter in the manner that would ensure the maintenance of practical authority on [exploiters?].

Otherwise, disregarding them will quicken their appetite for more price increases, which are bringing the citizen to a state of despondency regarding the ability to visit any market. So let there be moderation on prices, and let there be moderation with people, and God is the one to beseech for succor in any case.

French Conference Calls for Lifting of Sanctions

95LH0048A Paris AL-MUHARRIR in Arabic 7 Nov 94
p 9

[FBIS Translated Text] A French-Iraqi symposium under the banner "Why the Blockade is Imposed on Iraq?" was held in the French Senate building on the afternoon of 27 October. A group of prominent French figures, including Senator Serge Mathieu, head of the French-Iraqi friendship group in the French Senate; Deputy Mrs. Roselyne Bachelot, head of the French-Iraqi friendship group in the National Assembly; Deputy Daniel Garrigue; Bernard Guillet, diplomatic counselor to Interior Minister Charles Pasqua; and others attended the symposium. A number of Iraqi deputies and figures also attended it, including Khalid al-Janabi, adviser at the Iraqi presidential office; Dr. Shafiq al-Samarra'i; Deputies Abd-al-Wahhab al-Haythi, Walid al-Tawil, Muthir al-Alusi, and Dr. Abd-al-Baqi al-Khatib; 'Abd-al-Amir al-Anbari, Iraq's ambassador to UNESCO; and former ambassador 'Aziz al-Hajj.

An AL-MUHARRIR correspondent was there and recorded the highlights of this symposium. The French participants agreed with the Iraqis that the blockade is causing human suffering and health problems among the Iraqi people and that the United States' insistence on maintaining the oil embargo contradicts article 22 of Security Council Resolution 687, which linked the lifting of the sanctions to the Iraqi armament issues only.

Deputy Mrs. Bachelot reviewed the developments in French-Iraqi relations, particularly since 1972. She affirmed that the French position in the Gulf war deviated from its traditional course. France, however, has begun returning gradually to the independent de Gaulist course since 1993. Counselor Bernard Guillet emphasized the importance of Iraq and its role in Gulf security, especially as it is an open country and [religiously] not fanatic. He explained that France recognizes states and not regimes, and noted that every state is interested in its own security. It was clear from Counselor Guillet remarks that France does not want the Gulf area to fall into the same Algerian whirlpool.

Deputy Garrigue reviewed the UN Security Council resolutions on Iraq from the legal and political standpoint. He noted that according to the provisions of Resolution 687, Iraq is considered to have fulfilled its commitments, had it not been for U.S. opposition. The United States has introduced political interpretations that had nothing to do with the resolution. He explained that Resolution 833 called on Iraq and Kuwait to follow a course of rapprochement and good neighborliness. It did not specifically call for formal recognition of Kuwait and its borders. This condition has become associated with the conditions for lifting the blockade because of U.S. pressure. He said that Ekeus [chairman of the UN Special Commission] has admitted that 183 Iraqi military positions have been placed under constant observation. Russia and France have asked for a six-month testing period before lifting the blockade. Washington, however, is objecting and exerting pressure on Ekeus.

Mr. Garrigue thinks that frustration, bitterness, and the need to draw the attention of the world were behind the Iraqi military movements. He thinks the military movements should not have taken place before it was possible to discuss Ekeus's report. Although Iraq is ready to recognize Kuwait's present borders, it is waiting for a promise of a clear UN commitment before it takes the step demanded of it. Mr. Garrigue indicated that the United States maintains a double-standard policy. It does not apply the same standards in similar cases and has adopted an intransigent policy toward Iraq because of the Gulf oil.

Professor Philip Williams, member of the French Surgical Academy, gave alarming figures and data about the number of dead and the deteriorating health conditions in Iraq because of attacks and the continued blockade. The French professor, who has frequently visited Iraqi hospitals after the war, related how bereaved mothers waited in hospital corridors in front of their dying babies. Furthermore, the forces imposing the blockade on Iraq deliberately withheld necessary medical information from specialists by banning the import of all types of books. They have banned the import of paper and school equipment. Because of this ban on cultural and educational equipment, more than 60,000 students sit on the floor. More than 80,000 students have left school for economic reasons. About 2,000 teachers also

left their jobs for the same reasons. Britain and the United States have refused to allow Iraq to import antibiotics, hospital bed sheets, and other materials. They have also obstructed scores of food consignments from France, China, and many other countries.

The Iraqi and French participants in the symposium reached a consensus regarding the inhuman effects of the blockade and Washington's unilateral intransigent position. It was clear that the French position is different and is developing positively. However, it is unlikely that France would now be able to take a more decisive and confrontational stand, such as using the veto, because of several factors and circumstances, including electoral ones. The positive development in the French position calls for admiration and encouragement, especially as the lifting of the blockade on Iraq will not only ease the comprehensive Iraqi tragedy, but will also open wide, profitable doors to French economic interests.

While the French position is developing positively, the position of many Gulf and Arab regimes are becoming more negative and constricted toward the Iraqi tragedy. This is at a time when the train of normalization with Israel is moving ahead at rocket speed.

Iraqi News Agency Celebrates 35th Anniversary

95LIH0041A Baghdad ALIF BA' in Arabic 9 Nov 94 p 18

[Article by Sa'ad Muttashir: "On the Occasion of its Anniversary: INA Breaches the Embargo"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, colleagues at the Iraqi News Agency [INA] are celebrating its 35th anniversary, which falls on 9 November. The Agency occupies a distinguished and advanced position in the information corps and the fighting word. It had the honor to participate in the media campaigns of endurance and victory in the two battles, the glorious Qadisiyah of Saddam and the eternal Mother of Battles. Today, INA occupies a sector of the Iraqi information media that has been subjected to the unjust embargo for too long. The past four years have witnessed malicious attempts to strangle the Iraqi voice of justice and prevent it from reaching the four corners of the world. But thanks to the persistence of struggling activist colleagues at INA and generous endeavors, the agency was able to continue its media campaign.

Regarding these endeavors and the magnitude of distinguished media work, we went around the INA and met a number of colleagues who spoke to us about the glorious Qadisiyah of Saddam and the nights of the brutal 30-nation aggression. Some took the conversation to the pioneers and the initial inaugurating days.

Mr. 'Udayy al-Ta'i, deputy editor of INA spoke to us about the high determination of the co-workers at the agency. He said:

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

"We had no choice but to work with doubled efforts and high determination in order to make up for the network of correspondents that we used to depend on. After having had 250 news bureaus abroad, we were reduced to 12 bureaus. INA was able to make up the difference and square the resulting deficit in news gathering by depending on a modern assemblage of broadcast and television monitoring and listening so as to feed its subscribers with whatever events that are new and hot. During the time of the embargo, this assemblage grew to become an independent bulletin that provides its subscribers with news, reports, information, and general knowledge. In spite of enemy attempts to isolate the agency and deprive its staff of scholarships, seminars, journalistic, and training fellowships abroad, the confidence that some agencies had in INA moved them to grant training and practice opportunities on a reciprocal basis. INA began to carry pictures of the struggle and heroism in the fields of battle and construction areas on the counter-attack page in news items, reports, and pictorials, and to carry pictures of the heroism of the activists and to strengthen them in their struggle. INA has a big project to link the agency's sections by a modern network of computers, depending on the inhouse technical expertise that is available to the agency, in order to economize on paper use on the job. It is expected to be completed soon."

Dr. Salih Watut, secretary to the editor, spoke to us about the early beginnings of inauguration. He indicated that it was in 1959. There was one room with three employees at the broadcasting and television building. Their job was to prepare a news bulletin that was to be broadcast by radio. As for the symbol "INA," it was acquired five years after inauguration. The agency had entered into negotiations with the Arab News Agency, a division of the Reuters news agency which had carried the same symbol [in Arabic]. Its general director, Shathil Taqah, now deceased, had managed to convince the representative of the Reuters agency that the Iraqi News Agency was more deserving of acquiring the symbol. INA became the symbol for the agency's news which after that had, by the admission of international news agencies, scored many exclusives, the latest being the exclusive on the names of the first cabinet for the united country in the Republic of Yemen and the election of the speaker in the united country. As for the present, INA is experiencing the hardships of the imposed embargo which has affected media establishments and educational facilities, but INA is attempting to do its duty and breach the embargo.

The colleague Ghassan al-Qadi, managing editor of the of the foreign bureaus section said:

"Like the other sections, ours faced many difficult circumstances, and we had to muster the journalistic capacities of all co-workers, be they foreign correspondents or employees at INA headquarters. With everyone standing shoulder to shoulder, we were able to succeed in covering the activities that relate to their working areas like

opinions, reverberations, and commentaries that emanate from governmental, party, political, or social authorities. This is in spite of the technical and material pressures brought about by the embargo and the downsizing that occurred in the network of correspondents abroad."

[ALIF BA'] How was this downsizing treated?

[Al-Qadi] Through a network of experienced correspondents in the important capitals where events can heat up, including most Arab countries, America, and Europe, we were able to supply the agency with news, and additionally, to support our information media in regard to everything that has to do with Iraq, the Arab homeland, and the world, be it through meetings with official and non official personalities, or through what newspapers and other information media publish. We have an ambitious plan for correspondents to cover new areas when capabilities permit."

We then moved on to the international news section, which witnessed considerable technical developments that were introduced to journalism by national expertise in spite of the circumstances of the embargo. The colleague Fa'iq Mansur spoke to us about the nature and circumstances of the work:

"The international news section at INA endured a great deal during the unjust embargo. We used to deal with 200 international news agencies and receive bulletins, news, and reports from them on a daily and continuous basis. However, these agencies boycotted us immediately after the beginning of the brutal 30-nation aggression. This is what led to a plunge in the volume of news in comparison to what it had been in the past. However this did not limit our intrinsic abilities, and we relied on our capabilities. The broadcasting and television monitoring branch went into action and filled in for the other agencies that halted their bulletins. The agency's correspondents abroad also went into action, and we worked to modernize the section regarding the transmission that is related to the daily bulletin. We abandoned the former customary telegrams and have begun working as of two years ago with electronic mail. This is a modern operation in journalism that also helps to limit the use of paper rolls, which are in short supply."

At the monitoring section, which was lately detached from the international news section, our colleague Faysal Yunis spoke to us:

"The monitoring section assumes wide responsibilities. All broadcasts are listened to, especially in Arabic, in addition to other languages. We have suffered a great deal from the weakness and lack of contacts with the outside world. Monitoring has come to assume the greater significance in the work of the agency, because during the glorious Mother of Battles it was able to play a vital and influential part so that the Voice of Iraq would continue and reach the outside world. During that

time we were responsible for several well-known journalistic exclusives. The section has begun to develop its abilities relying on itself. New units for Arabic, Persian, and English have instituted. We have a special bulletin that has gained the support of the minister of culture and information, which deals with various subjects that contribute to the agency and the newspapers with information that is added to the local bulletins and foreign and international news, to which monitoring was formerly attached. The bulletin has been assigned broadcast times from 0900 to 1800. We encountered many technical difficulties that our co-workers in the technical section were able to overcome in spite of the age of the equipment and the shortage of spare parts. The monitoring workers have gained great experience during recent periods, and they have employed it in the service of the new bulletin, participating through it in upholding the information work that the agency performs."

The colleague Talib Sa'dun, chief of the local items section, spoke to us about the activities of the section in the shadow of the embargo. He said:

"We devised a working plan in order to disseminate the Voice of Iraq and breach the wall of disinformation that has become the weapon of our enemies. In our work, we have relied on conveying the truth and embodying the suffering of the Iraqi people from lack of food and medicine as a result of the unjust embargo. We also have a big part in transmitting the facts of the counter-attack, which the activists of military industrialization undertook, and the movement for development and construction which the country witnessed after the brutal 30-nation aggression. We have a network of representatives at the ministries and governorates to convey the picture of bonding between the people and the leader, and news of gatherings, telegrams, and congratulations, and to register the activities of society in general. Because of the unjust embargo, we have decided to rely on our intrinsic abilities, reduce spending, and be moderate in the consumption of paper, guided by the contents of the ardent letter of the leader-president, may God protect and preserve him, concerning resource management and making do with replacements."

Through our conversations with our colleagues at INA we have deduced that by extinguishing a new candle they mean beginning a new stage that requires making a new plan and a new conception of media work. The experience of the past year as compared to the one that preceded it means a quest for excellence and modernization, and this is what we wish for them. Many happy returns to INA.

American-French Conflict on Iraq Called Obvious

95LH0047A Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic
12 Nov 94 p 4

[Article by Dr. Abd-al-Salam Baghdadi, of Baghdad University's Political Science College]

[FBIS Translated Text] Anyone following French-American relations now will notice that a sort of conflict or difference exists between the two countries in evaluating the situation and developments in international politics. Some positions even showed some sharp disagreement in evaluating current political changes. This conflict might not serve the relations between them, which were totally consistent and harmonious during the sinful 30-country aggression against Iraq in 1991.

The relations and mutual interests between the two countries continued to appear consistent and harmonious until recently. An alert observer could detect that the two countries are drawing apart on more than one issue. Differences between them emerged during the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) negotiations last year. The United States insisted during these negotiations on introducing some American agricultural commodities into France, disregarding the interests of French farmers. It was clear to every observer that the United States was pressuring its European allies, including France, to promote its own products and serve its own interests at the expense of affected French farmers.

In another area of French concern, which Paris considers vital to its interests and influence by virtue of its colonialist past—the Arab Maghreb in general and Algeria in particular—the United States initiated another challenge by directly intervening in the crisis there. It has started penetrating certain political forces by opening up to some wings of the Algerian political movements and allowing them to establish a presence in the United States. It has also urged official Algerian leaders to hold further talks with these wings in an attempt to pave the way to some sort of American influence in Algerian politics in the future. The United States has growing interests in Algeria, involving natural gas deals and others.

These developments have undoubtedly entered the French security perception, and will cause a confrontation between France and the United States. This confrontation is considered postponed because France is waiting for the right moment to steer away from the United States. The coming days will reveal additional signs of this confrontation.

In the Western Hemisphere, and specifically in Haiti, the United States made futile attempts to enlist French support and involvement in its military invasion of this small country, an invasion that was concealed under the UN banner. Paris officially announced that it would not take part in this operation. In fact, France did not take part in this operation, not because it did not consider it proper for a big country like France to invade a small country like Haiti, but because France did not think it was obliged to share in the U.S. military plans and operations. France realized that such operations only serve American interests. It did not want to take such a course, which would further damage its international reputation and prestige.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

France also realized the extent of the loss it has suffered in its sphere of influence—the Francophone African countries. The U.S. role in Djibouti is growing, despite the presence of a French military base there. American influence has extended to an area of important French influence and interests—that is, Rwanda. Although France intervened militarily there under the provisions of UN Security Council Resolution 929 last June, the United States won the round by establishing close relations with the present Rwandan Government at the expense of French influence in this Francophone African country.

The French-American conflict was manifested in the best fashion during the recent crisis in the Arab Gulf area, caused by the American media, political, and military escalation against Iraq. Although it was hesitant and failed to make a clear stance, France did not agree with the U.S. claims against Iraq. It declared that Iraq did not violate any UN resolutions by moving military forces, as the movement of these forces took place inside Iraqi territory, and this is an internationally recognized and guaranteed right. Despite being moderate, this French position caused many conflicts in French-American relations, reaching the point of rhetorical exchanges between senior officials of the two countries. This revealed the existence of clear differences in the relations between them and showed that total agreement no longer exists between the two countries. This also showed that Paris and Washington are perhaps at a crossroads on many issues. France has begun to realize that appeasement of the United States does not necessarily ensure French interests. This is despite the fact that France and the United States belong to the same Western culture, the same international military organizations (NATO), the same international economic organizations (the seven major industrial states), and other organizations with common Western cultural identity.

Jordan

Information Minister on Israel Agreement

95AA0029A London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic
4 Nov 94 p 30

[Jordanian Information Minister Jawad al-'Anani interviewed by Nasrin al-Salih in Amman: "Jordan Has a Major Duty To Protect the Holy Places Until the Palestinians Can Do So"; first three paragraphs are AL-HAWADITH introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dr. Jawad al-'Anani, Jordanian minister of information and minister of state for prime ministry affairs, has said that the Jordanian-Israeli peace treaty is the result of three years of talks, during which time Jordan went through many phases of discussion and questioning, "with some people doubting the likelihood that this treaty would happen, because those who opposed it thought this treaty would not succeed, and would not lead to Jordan's attaining its paramount sovereignty rights.

"This treaty has enabled Jordan to recover its right to exercise its sovereignty over its territory and water," Dr. al-'Anani added, in an exclusive interview with AL-HAWADITH. "This is the basic point from which we must start. It is normal for any treaty to begin with a set of goals that generally proceed from international law and the acknowledged bases present in United Nations statutes."

Dr. 'Anani announced that "the treaty aims to achieve a just peace that enables us to deal with the various subjects between the two countries on an equal basis."

The text of the interview follows:

[Al-Salih] It is said that Jordan, which had always called for a comprehensive solution, chose, in the end, a separate solution by agreeing to sign a peace treaty with Israel without waiting for the other tracks.

[Al-'Anani] First of all, we do not consider what we did to be a separate solution. The concept of comprehensiveness has taken on a new meaning: It no longer means that we all sign, it means that we all want peace, and that everyone wants a comprehensive peace. What we in Jordan tried to do was to choose the right time. We no longer saw any benefit in waiting, especially as Jordan was very patient after reaching agreement on an agenda and took its time.

As to the charges leveled at Jordan in this regard, the motive there is primarily political gain. The others have the right to voice their opinion, but no one has the right to dictate to Jordan, and no one knows better than Jordan what is best for it.

[Al-Salih] And the subject of sovereignty over the holy places in Jerusalem?

[Al-'Anani] The subject of Jerusalem is far too politicized. Jordan's position is that it is not against anyone, and not against the Palestinian side. It cannot be permitted for Jordan's position to be turned into an instrument that others may use for their political goals.

Jordan has been given the custody of the holy places there. If it wants to abandon this right, it must give it up to a Palestinian entity capable of assuming and exercising that authority. We know that Jerusalem is an occupied city. Jordan has done much to protect and rebuild it. It has not used it as a political tool to get into those territories, but Jordan wants to make sure that when the final negotiations on Jerusalem take place, the accord will guarantee that if there is any de-linking of these subjects, it will mean the relinquishing of this authority to the people we want to take over the responsibility. Otherwise, Jordan would not be acting responsibly in this regard.

It is not a question of interpretations. This is a legal and political issue, and a question of the status quo we are dealing with. After that we will be able to differ among ourselves. It must be said that Jordan is facing a great

responsibility in protecting those holy places. They are a trust given it until such time as the Palestinians or the Palestinian National Authority [PNA] is able to exercise that right. There is no chance that we will abandon it.

[Al-Salih] The agreement did not include a final solution to the problem of refugees or emigrants, in spite of the fact that this was one of the most important subjects of the Jordanian-Israeli talks. What happened?

[Al-'Anani] Actually, there was a clear provision in the joint agenda, that Jordan and Israel would enter into negotiations on the refugees in conformity with international law. We asked the world's senior international law experts, and they said that international law covered relevant UN resolutions. So we prepared the same wording in the treaty, deciding that we in Jordan will not be able to discuss the subject of refugees without coordinating with the PNA, because the latter bears the great responsibility of the refugees.

Here I may say that we have accepted the postponement of discussions on this subject until the day on which it will be discussed in a final phase. We will take part in those negotiations with the PNA to guarantee the rights of the Palestinians and of everyone.

As to the question of emigrants, that is a different thing, because they are basically Jordanian citizens who moved from one Jordanian territory to another Jordanian territory in 1967. The rights of these people to return are protected by Resolution 237. Thus we, the Palestinians, the Israelis, and the Egyptians must get involved, because we have brothers in the Gaza Strip carrying Egyptian travel documents. There must be a four-way meeting to organize the manner of their return. We are waiting the announcement of the beginning of that committee's talks.

[Al-Salih] Given that there are fateful and crucial matters pending, without a solution, what sets apart the peace with Jordan?

[Al-'Anani] What sets apart the peace with Jordan is that Jordan has recovered its territories and obtained its land and water rights.

[Al-Salih] What is the story of the Jordanian land that Jordan leased instead of taking back?

[Al-'Anani] Once again I would like to reaffirm that Jordan did take back its lands, with the exception of about five square kilometers, which Israel is allowed to use under Jordanian sovereignty. This means that Jordan recovered full sovereignty over that land. We absolutely did not lease out this land, in the sense of hiring it out; we are allowing it to be used for a time. I would like to say here that our rights in the land we recovered gave us back our full rights to exercise sovereignty over them, guaranteeing freedom of movement for people and investment.

[Al-Salih] The economic accords mean the opening of borders, the exchange of goods, and movement back and forth, without any real restrictions except those stipulated in the agreement. That means that Jordan will enter into competition with goods and a market that are far more advanced. Are you ready for that?

[Al-'Anani] There are two parties in the balance. We cannot say that we are establishing peace with Israel without there being some cooperative aspects. These may or may not succeed. We entered into them on our conditions, in the context that they guarantee our interests.

Turning to trade, the Israelis wanted a rapid open-door policy. We asked for a slower pace, because it is not merely a question of ending a boycott. We cannot force anyone to buy Israeli goods. Israeli laws protecting their products and their manner of dealing with the import of Jordanian goods, are still not fair. Thus there is a need to regulate this matter in an accord which would define the bases of commercial exchange.

Here we are free of political pressures, because we are speaking directly about our citizens' interests. So there will be several agreements in various fields, seeking to achieve Jordan's basic interests. The state of peace with Israel will inevitably bring us large international projects and investments, and that is what will happen. We will go to the Casablanca conference with a large economic delegation, in order to attract large investments to Jordan, the investors in the state of peace we have achieved.

[Al-Salih] Apart from land and water, the normalization process will take precedence over everything else, particularly as relates to opening borders and crossing points to free movement, and finally the opening of embassies and an exchange of diplomats. Will Jordan become the second country (after Egypt) to do this?

[Al-'Anani] According to the texts of the treaty agreement, the two countries will exchange diplomatic representatives, open embassies or consulates, one month after the exchange of the documents of ratification. One month thereafter the Jordanian embassy in Tel Aviv will open, and the Israeli Embassy in Amman will open. This is not normalization so much as it is the implementation of the provisions of accord to which the relevant parties consented.

Morocco

Interior Minister Asks for European Aid in Drug War

95AF0022Z Casablanca MAROC SOIR in French
2 Dec 94 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed article: "The War Against Drugs: Moroccan Appeal To Western Partners To Turn Commitments Into Deeds"—first paragraph is MAROC SOIR introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Driss Basri presented "a white paper on Morocco's policy on the fight against drugs" to the European troika.

On Thursday afternoon in Brussels, at the meetings of the so-called "K4" "justice and domestic affairs" group (the former Trevi Group), Mr. Driss Basri, the Minister of State for the Interior and Information, presented a "white paper on Morocco's policy on the fight against drugs" to the European troika.

This white paper spelled out Morocco's strategy in the area of the fight against drugs, listed its accomplishments, and presented the difficulties it faces in this area.

This document emphasized that a budget of approximately \$2.2 billion spread over five years had been allocated by the Kingdom to implement one part of the Rif restructuring and development program, thus recalling the establishment on 25 January 1994 of the Rif Development and Restructuring Agency (ADRR).

On 9 October 1992, Morocco, which has signed agreements with many countries pertaining to the fight against the production, use, and consumption of drugs so as to counter the numerous ploys used by traffickers at every stage of trafficking, ratified the December 1988 Vienna Convention to give new impetus to cooperation in the area of fighting drugs. The country also took several steps to amend and revise its legal and jurisdictional arsenal so as to bring it into conformity with the provisions of the Vienna Convention.

So it was that, starting in October 1992, an unprecedented security operation was set up in the north of the country mobilizing a large number of agents estimated at 10,000 men as well as considerable financial resources.

The recorded successes prove that in relative terms the aim [of the operation] was achieved: The quantities of chira seized have not stopped increasing, with more than 65 metric tons in 1992 or 10 times more than the seizures made in 1982, making this a record year when compared with previous years.

Similarly, the document points out, a spectacular increase in the number of persons prosecuted for illegal drug trafficking has been recorded, increasing from 3,928 in 1978 to 8,256 in 1993, or more than doubling in the space of seven years.

Furthermore the internationalization of this trafficking involves an ever greater number of foreigners, this figure having climbed from 76 to 235 persons during the period 1987-1993.

During the first three months of 1994, 27 Europeans were arrested in possession of more than 3,795 kg of drugs or an average of 140.5 kg per person, the document states.

However the fight against drugs in its various phases is still below the expected outcome inasmuch as the challenge is a major one and the obstacles are numerous.

So the government of Morocco very early on became aware that cracking down alone could not put an end to cannabis growing in Morocco.

At the same time they established their crackdown, authorities set up a kef reconversion program and, in collaboration with the FAO [Food and Agriculture Agency], launched the Western Rif Economic Rural Development (DERRO) project.

According to the document, eradicating this crop happens by setting up an overall, integrated, and collaborative strategy made up of preventive and crackdown measures and an emergency development program for the northern provinces.

This emergency program should be built around three main thrusts:

- Developing the basic infrastructure in order to put an end to the region's isolation;
- Providing incentives for productive investments aimed at progressively substituting for cannabis growing;
- And last, promoting social sectors to ensure that local populations are retrained.

The final aim for the implementation of these various multi-sector projects is the reconversion of cannabis growing.

[Another goal is] the gradual elimination of drug trafficking and a limiting of the [rural] exodus by seeing people settled in their own areas by guaranteeing them a decent, honest life: in other words, by enforcing one of the basic principles of human rights, the document adds.

The document reiterates that the fight against trafficking and [the job of] controlling borders alone cost the state treasury more than \$100 million, which accounts for more than 5 percent of all spending anticipated in the country's general budget.

The document states that while the international community has insisted on preventive and repressive steps, we are currently witnessing—in Europe especially—the start of a debate on decriminalizing the use of drugs or legalizing certain so-called soft drugs. This trend, which has increasingly been winning public support in certain countries, appears to be enjoying support and encouragement and seriously handicaps any policy that producing countries put in place, the document goes on to say.

Moroccan authorities are aware that for the steps and policies pertaining to the fight against drugs to be coherent, it is still extremely important to have an even more serious debate on the subject within the framework of the United Nations' specialized agencies so as to produce in earnest an approved view that is duly thought out and objective.

The expansion of drug trafficking, as with all economic activity, is based mainly on an increase in sales opportunities offered by the market.

The eradication of this curse makes it necessary that action be taken both early and late in the drug process, that work be equitably divided up, and that commitments by one and all be respected.

The document calls upon Morocco's Western partners in the common fight against drugs, particularly its European ones, to turn into deeds the commitments they have made officially.

In this regard Morocco had been pleased with the favorable reception accorded His Majesty the King's appeal by the current president of the European Community, Mr. John Major.

In his 6 January 1993 response to His Majesty the King's appeal on the subject, the European president at the time expressed his total agreement with the steps taken by the Kingdom in the area of the fight against drugs and his willingness to be associated with it.

The document regrets that no specific follow-up has been made to statements of solidarity which had been ceremoniously made by Morocco's European partners; [Morocco] continues to believe, however, that a coherence of policies is required and that the means must follow so as to implement the shared ambition.

Mr. Driss Basri Meets in Brussels With Several European Interior or Justice Ministers

After arriving Wednesday in Brussels leading a large Moroccan delegation which would take part in the meetings of the "Interior and Justice Affairs" group, the so-called "K4" [group] (the former Trevi Group), on Thursday afternoon Mr. Driss Basri, the Minister of State for the Interior and Information, held a series of meetings with his European counterparts.

So Mr. Driss Basri had a long working meeting with the Spanish interior and justice minister, in the course of which cooperation between the two ministries and regional issues as well as current common problems were discussed.

The Minister of State for the Interior and Information also met with the Portuguese interior minister. Bilateral relations as well as cooperation between Morocco and the European Union were extensively reviewed.

The Spanish and Portuguese ministers took advantage of the opportunity to invite Mr. Driss Basri to visit Madrid and Lisbon to strengthen and further expand bilateral relations.

Furthermore Mr. Basri had a long meeting with the head of the German delegation, who is the current chairman of the Council of Ministers of the 12 [Union members].

We should mention that the meetings of the interior and justice ministers from the 12 countries and observer states (Morocco, U.S., Canada, etc.) are held twice yearly to look at problems tied to drug trafficking, terrorism, illegal immigration, political asylum, etc.

The BELGA Agency: Morocco Hopes For \$1 Billion From the European Union to End the Isolation of the Mountainous Rif Region

"On Thursday Mr. Driss Basri, the interior minister, presented to the European Union Morocco's 'white paper' on the policy being pursued by his country to wipe out kef (cannabis) growing once and for all, a program costing \$2.2 billion over five years, one-half of which the Moroccans hope to receive in the form of different aid from the Europeans," "BELGA," the Belgian press agency reported Thursday evening.

"Mr. Basri," BELGA stated, "presented this 'white paper' on Thursday to the European troika—Greece, the German Federal Republic, and France—that has occupied, occupies, or will occupy the presidency of the European Union, explaining that Morocco had kept the promises it made to the Europeans last June in Luxembourg to publish this 'white paper' which details the measures it has already taken or which still need to be implemented to rid the Rif of kef."

"The Moroccan minister, in an interview with the BELGA agency, explained that he had met with most of his European counterparts who, in his view, told them of their support of the Moroccan fight against drugs but were astonished by the 'slowness' of the European Commission, which had demanded it in the first place, in releasing funds."

"Since 1992," BELGA continued, "Morocco has pursued a huge program to curb this activity by financing the mobilization of 10,000 men to curb the growing and the trafficking of drugs. Movement in the direction of other agricultural activities is necessary, it being a question of encouraging the raising of goats and poultry as well as fruit growing, according to Mr. Basri. The cost of the fight against drugs undertaken by the Moroccan authorities," BELGA revealed, "is currently estimated at more than \$100 million annually or more than 5 percent of spending estimated in the Moroccan state's general budget."

"With European Union assistance, these reconversion efforts," the agency again emphasized, "should be made in connection with other efforts aimed at ending the isolation of the mountainous Rif region by setting up a highway infrastructure worthy of that name as well as through initiatives in the communications area but also through education, the region still being impoverished in relation to other areas in Morocco."

"Kef growing," BELGA wrote, "is an old problem in the north of Morocco, according to Mr. Basri, having been started by the Spanish at the beginning of the century to encourage the production of textile fibers that were to be used mainly to manufacture soles for espadrilles. It led growers to react when the demand for drugs picked up and has proved vital for their subsistence. But it was mainly the major international traffickers who saw an easy source of big profits by exploiting local farmers who had lost their textile outlets."

"In October His Majesty King Hassan II," BELGA went on to repeat, "had his country ratify the December 1988 Vienna Convention on drugs and drug trafficking."

"Ever since, Morocco," BELGA concluded, "has increased its drug seizures tenfold and the number of persons prosecuted for illegal drug trafficking doubled in the space of seven years in the Arab kingdom, according to official statistics."

United Arab Emirates

Al-Shariqah Conference on Uprooted Muslim Women Held

95LH0053A *Al-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic*
13 Nov 94 p 4

[Report by Samir al-Shaykh Hasan]

[FBIS Translated Text] His Highness Shaykh Dr. Sultan Bin-Muhammad al-Qasimi, member of the Supreme Council and ruler of al-Shariqah, yesterday morning opened the World Conference on Uprooted Muslim Women at the Cultural Center in al-Shariqah. The Islamic Relief Organization in al-Shariqah organized this conference in cooperation with the International Woman's Committee for Uprooted Women in Geneva and the UN High Commission for Refugees [UNHCR]. The three-day conference is being attended by 250 participants from all the Arab and Islamic states.

The opening ceremony was attended by His Highness Shaykh Ahmad Bin-Sultan al-Qasimi, deputy ruler of al-Shariqah; Humayyid Bin-Nasir al-'Uways, minister of electricity and water; Hamad Abd-al-Rahman al-Madfa', minister of education; Rashid Imran Tarim, deputy speaker of the National Council; Ambassador Sayf Sa'id Bin-Sa'id, acting Foreign Ministry under secretary; and a number of shaykhs, heads of Arab and foreign diplomatic missions, heads of local departments, and senior state officials.

In his speech, his highness the ruler of al-Shariqah affirmed that the suffering, persecution, and injustice facing uprooted Muslim women today is a shame to civilization and humanity at the onset of the 21st century. His highness said that human rights are guaranteed in all divine and secular laws. The Almighty God has honored humankind with His humanity. What is the reason for these flagrant violations of human rights now?

His highness called on the conference to produce important recommendations that would benefit all the parties. He also called on it to prepare a working paper, referring to the al-Shariqah conference and its results, to be presented to the International Woman's Conference that will be held in Beijing in September 1995.

His highness called on all relief and humanitarian organizations to intensify their efforts and investment in development, education, and training programs to

develop the capabilities of uprooted Muslim women so they can face life with a positive attitude.

The text of his highness the ruler of al-Shariqah's speech follows:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Praise be to God, Lord of the universe. God's prayers and peace be upon our Prophet Muhammad, his scion, and his companions.

Brothers and sisters:

God's peace and blessings be upon you. At the beginning of this blessed conference, God willing, I would like to welcome you in your second homeland, the United Arab Emirates [UAE], and in al-Shariqah. I wish you a pleasant stay.

Displacement is an old process. It goes back to the beginning of human societies on this earth. However, I think that the migration, the seeking of refuge, and the uprooting of people from their homeland under such cruel circumstances and in such large numbers is unparalleled in the long human history.

Natural disasters and floods are perhaps part of the reasons for migration and displacement. Religious, ethnic, and sectarian conflicts and wars, persecution, and deprivation of a human being of his rights represent most of the reasons for migration and displacement in the world today.

It is noteworthy that the percentage of refugee and uprooted Muslims is about 80 percent, and Muslim women and children represent more than 65 percent of all uprooted women and children in the world. A person might ask: Is this God's will or is there something else going on in secret?

Islam has honored women in such a special and absolute way unprecedented in any divine religious or secular law. Islam gives women all their rights and makes them equal to men in humanity, rights, duties, and reward by the Almighty God. The advantage of women over men is given when children are urged to pay attention to their mothers. The Hadith, the prophetic tradition, relates that when a man asked who is more worthy of the goodness of my companionship, the Prophet Muhammad, may God's prayers and peace be upon him, said: "Your mother, then your mother, then your mother, and then your father."

Islam has honored the uprooted very much. The motto of the conference is a saying by the Prophet, may God's prayers and peace be upon him: Be good to all women. The prophetic tradition contains the best and most profound examples about the treatment of uprooted women who emigrated from Mecca to Medina, about protecting them, and defending their rights and honors. In the long history of Islam, the Islamic world has been the refuge for all refugees and uprooted people who had to flee from religious persecution and human oppression.

This was the case when thousands of Muslims, Jews, and Christians of other denominations fled the Spanish Inquisition to countries of the Islamic world, where they enjoyed security and respect.

The suffering, persecution, and injustice facing uprooted Muslim women today is a shame to civilization and humanity at the onset of the 21st century and after reaching the peak of material and industrial progress.

How can one comprehend the fact that Serb beasts have raped 50,000 Bosnian women and children while the world has done nothing to stop them? The world is fully aware of what has happened. It has known through the various media that Muslim women have been raped in Bosnia, Kashmir, and Burma, that Somalian women have been raped in Kenya, and that rape has taken place in other parts of the world. Human rights are guaranteed by all divine and secular laws. The Almighty God has honored humankind with His humanity. What is the reason for these flagrant violations of human rights now?

The UNHCR and other specialized organizations have issued good directives for the treatment of women in general. Many people working in the humanitarian field have benefited from them. But there is nothing that pertains to uprooted Muslim women, who represent the majority of uprooted women in the world. Muslim women have a specific culture, traditions, and customs that must be taken into consideration and respected by all those who work with them so that they can provide better services to them. Failure to understand these special characteristics of uprooted Muslim women might cause misunderstanding or omission in providing the necessary services. Special consideration should be given to their customs, social and religious occasions, holidays, methods of medical examination, type of food, psychological treatment, and so forth.

The conference will provide a suitable occasion for profound intellectual discussion and exchange of views and expertise among all the delegations and Islamic organizations to achieve better results. To show our support for this conference and its important humanitarian goals, we have decided to hold it in al-Shariqah. This is our contribution to the need to highlight the situation of uprooted Muslim women and the process of conveying and exchanging experiences among organizations with different nationalities and ideas. I hope that this conference, God willing, will be a good start for uprooted Muslim women. The topics of discussion and the experience of the participating delegations will undoubtedly contribute to the issuance of important recommendations that would benefit all the parties. I also hope that this conference will produce recommendations and a working paper, referring to the al-Shariqah conference and its results, to be submitted to the International Woman's Conference, which will be held in Beijing in September 1995.

I must also praise the role of the International Islamic Relief Organization and its branch in al-Shariqah, which

enjoys our full support, in sponsoring this conference and in taking this important initiative in cooperation with the nongovernmental World Committee of Uprooted Women and the UNHCR. We thank the UNHCR for its interest in uprooted Muslim women, and hope that the United Nations and all its subordinate organizations will increase their support to the suffering uprooted Muslim women.

Finally, I call on all relief and humanitarian organizations to intensify their efforts and investment in development, education, and training programs to develop the capabilities of uprooted Muslim women so they can face life with a positive attitude, whether in the new host countries or when they return to their original country.

Again I welcome you to al-Shariqah and wish you a pleasant stay. I also wish your conference every success. God's peace and blessings be upon you.

The opening ceremony began with a Koran recitation by Shaykh Abu-al-Wafa' al-Sa'id al-Najjar. Dr. Homayra' E'temadi, chairperson of the nongovernmental International Committee of Uprooted Women in Geneva, delivered a speech in which she paid tribute to the ruler of al-Shariqah's sponsorship of the World Islamic Conference. She then reviewed the bitter conditions under which uprooted Muslim women are living in non-Muslim countries.

Mustafa al-Jamali, regional director of UNHCR in the Middle East, then delivered a speech in which he expressed his thanks and appreciation to his highness the ruler of al-Shariqah and to all those who worked hard to prepare for this conference. He then reviewed some statistics prepared by the UNHCR about displacement and uprooting. He noted that 20 million refugees are living outside their countries and about 25 million refugees are displaced in their own countries. He also noted that 70 percent of the refugees are Muslims and 80 percent of these Muslims are women and children.

He added that women refugees are alone shouldering the responsibility for their children. They cannot do that alone, especially when their own lives are in danger. He emphasized that women refugees live under extremely harsh conditions and face numerous problems. The means to solve these problems are almost nonexistent. He said that in view of the huge number of women refugees and their particular problems, the UNHCR began in the mid-eighties to develop its policies and programs for the women refugees, focusing on their problems and special needs so that they could really benefit from the relief and care programs and permanent solutions.

Kamil al-Sharif, secretary general of the World Islamic Council for Islamic Call and Relief, delivered a speech in which he said: Man's shunning of God's religions and the divine manifestations in our material life has made him as hard as steel and as cold as rock. It was hoped that scientific achievements and the fruits of civilization

would turn him away from barbarism and viciousness and he would become more respectful of his brothers. However, the opposite is true. He cited the example of Bosnia as a living testimony. He said the Bosnian people's tragedy and other similar tragedies have prompted the convening of this conference in the country of the intellectual ruler to discuss the problems of uprooted Muslim women. We want to discuss the problems of uprooted Muslim women, not because they belong to a specific religion, but because they are human beings representing the weaker and softer part of the human family.

Ambassador Ibrahim Awf, assistant secretary general of the Islamic Conference Organization [ICO], delivered a speech on behalf of the ICO's secretary general. He expressed his thanks and appreciation to His Highness Shaykh Zayid Bin-Sultan al-Nahayyan, president of the UAE, and to his brother His Highness Shaykh Dr. Sultan Bin-Muhammad al-Qasimi. He said: The ICO is concerned about the plight of the millions of refugees all over the world. Most of these refugees are from the Islamic world. They were forced to seek refuge in non-Islamic countries. He said: The ICO has taken note of the ordeals and tragedies that are facing these Muslim refugees, particularly Muslim women, during their displacement, and the reasons for their uprooting. It calls on the UNHCR and the nongovernmental organizations to take into consideration the characteristics of Muslim women and their behaviorism, which are based on their Islamic religion and belief.

After he delivered his speech at the inaugural ceremony, his highness the ruler of al-Shariqah opened an information exhibition held at the cultural center running parallel with the conference. He cut the traditional ribbon and inspected the various sections of the exhibition, accompanied by senior guests and officials. A number of organizations and institutions specializing in social affairs in the UAE, the fraternal Gulf states, and the world, such as the Islamic Relief Organization, took part in the exhibition. They exhibited pictures and posters representing their programs in the fields of health, social, educational, and urgent relief services. The UNHCR also exhibited posters about its international services. The girls clubs in al-Shariqah participated in a special pavilion showing services about women. The al-Shariqah department of human services exhibited products of the city's children and the books of his highness the ruler of al-Shariqah.

The education ministry exhibited some publications and posters. The woman's committee of the Social Reform Organization in Kuwait and the Kuwaiti Women's Association participated, with exhibits on the women's cause and the Kuwaiti prisoners of war. The Woman's Advancement Association and the Social Reform and Guidance Association in Dubai participated, with books, publications, and posters. The Mother of the Faithful Association and the Social Guidance Association in Ajman participated, with exhibits about the woman's cause in general.

[Box, p 4]

Al-Shariqah Ruler Receives Relief Organization Director

His Highness Shaykh Dr. Sultan Bin-Muhammad al-Qasimi, member of the Supreme Council and ruler of al-Shariqah, received in his office yesterday at noon Dr. Ghazi Bin-Mahfuz, deputy chief superintendent of the Islamic Relief Organization and the delegation accompanying him. They reviewed the work of the International Conference on Uprooted Muslim Women, which began yesterday morning.

His highness praised the idea of this conference. He also praised the sincere efforts of the organizers and the noble work of the Islamic Relief Organization in various parts of the world. His highness wished the conference success in tackling the issue of uprooted Muslim women and hoped that it would achieve fruitful results in serving the cause of Muslim women and all humanity.

Dr. Bin-Mahfuz praised his highness' sponsorship of the conference, noting his efforts and constant support for the causes of justice and human rights in the Arab and Islamic worlds.

The meeting was attended by Shaykh Abdallah Bin-Muhammad Al Thani, head of the Civil Aviation Department in al-Shariqah; Shaykh Muhammad Bin-Sa'ud al-Qasimi, head of the Financial and Administrative Department; Shaykh Jamal Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Qas'ni, director of the Islamic Relief Organization's office in al-Shariqah and deputy director of the Awqaf and Islamic Affairs Department; and Abd-al-Rahman Bin-'Ali al-Jarwan, adviser at the amir's court.

[Box, p 4]

Ruler's Wife Decries Persecution of Uprooted Muslim Women

Her Highness Jawahir Bint-Muhammad al-Qasimi, wife of his highness the ruler of al-Shariqah, gave a luncheon yesterday at noon in honor of the women taking part in the International Conference on Uprooted Muslim Women, which began at the Holiday International Hotel in al-Shariqah yesterday.

Her highness earlier met with the women participants and delivered a speech in which she affirmed that the image of Muslim women in the world, in light of political changes and the absence of moral dimensions, has assumed tragic features, which no person can overlook. The persecution of Muslim women, she said, is an ugly expression of hatred and rancor harbored by some states and peoples against Islam. Rape and violation of human rights are war tools used by those cowardly people who do not like peace to prevail in the world. They want the world to remain in a state of unending turmoil so they can plant their subversive principles.

She added: This blessed conference, God willing, will be a suitable opportunity for studying the situation of Muslim women, who are paying a heavy price for conflicts in which they had no part, conflicts whose purpose is only to humiliate, insult, and end the freedom of mankind.

She hoped that the women participants would achieve positive and convincing results to make the world realize that uprooted Muslim women are facing a real tragedy and unlimited problems, and that their cause and the cause of all Muslims is just.

Uprooted Muslim Women's Issues Addressed at Conference

95LH0054A *Al-Shariqah AL-KHILIJ in Arabic*
14 Nov 94 p 5

[Report by Samir al-Shaykh Husayn]

[FBIS Translated Text] The International Conference on Uprooted Muslim Women, which is being held at the Holiday International Hotel in al-Shariqah under the auspices of His Highness Shaykh Dr. Sultan Bin-Muhammad al-Qasimi, member of the Supreme Council and ruler of al-Shariqah, resumed its meetings yesterday. The conference held three sessions. The first dealt with ways to treat the victims of torture, attacks, and rape. The second dealt with the role of Muslim women in running the affairs of their families while living away from their countries and the effect of assistance in this regard. The third dealt with urgent emergency relief aid and its role in helping women refugees.

Dr. Abdallah Ibrahim al-'Abdan, representative of the General Committee for Relief, an off-shoot of World Council for Islamic Call and Relief in Cairo, held a news conference in which he reviewed the objectives of the conference. He also reviewed the topics of discussion and the papers and research presented during the sessions. Speaking about the objectives the conference could achieve, he said the most important objective would be to approve the preparation of a directory for uprooted Muslim women, as an upgrade to the woman refugee directory issued by the UN High Commission for Refugees [UNHCR] in July 1991. He said there is need for such a directory, because the one issued by the UNHCR does not take into consideration the characteristics of uprooted Muslim women, who are distinct in the way they live, eat, and dress. To overcome this shortcoming, the UNHCR called for preparing a directory for uprooted Muslim women, which would supplement its directory, particularly as statistics show that 70 percent of all refugees in the world are Muslims and 80 percent of them are children and women. He said this underlines the importance of a directory that would take into consideration the characteristics of uprooted Muslim women as they live away in refugee centers and as they make their way back home. He said that this directory would be presented with other papers and research to the

International Woman's Conference, which is scheduled to be held in Beijing in September 1995.

Asked about the shortcomings in the UNHCR's directory for women refugees, Dr. al-'Abdan said: This directory does not take into consideration the characteristics of uprooted Muslim women. Rape and illegitimate children are not considered a transient matter. There are also certain requirements concerning private education, medical examination, care for their families, and training for a job to make them reliant on themselves until they can return to their countries.

Regarding the role of the General Committee for Islamic Call and Relief, he said: This committee coordinates its efforts with Islamic relief organizations to prevent duplication and achieve integration in practical development work. He said that there was much chaos in the past when Islamic development organizations rushed to undertake development work, causing duplication and abundance in certain commodities and shortage in others. Therefore, the committee wants the Islamic organizations to specialize in certain aspects of relief work to provide assistance in food, medicine, health care, education, and security.

Dr. al-'Abdan reviewed some aspects of the debate in yesterday's meetings. He said that the first session was held under the banner: "Treatment of Victims of Torture, Attack, and Rape." Fawziyah Musa, Dr. Majid Marwan Kamal Maz, and Beverly Breton took part in the discussion. The participants, he said, discussed many cases of women from Bosnia and other areas and dealt with the human tragedies that have been condemned by the international community. Through research, papers, and discussions, the participants tried to find ways to deal with the causes and results of torture and rape. It was noted that the number of rape victims in Bosnia has reached more than 50,000. The second session was held under the banner: "Role of Muslim Woman in Running the Affairs of Their Families in Foreign Countries and the Effect of Relief Aid in this Regard." Khadijah Qur'ani, Abd-al-Hamid Shaykh, Na'ilah Babakr Hijazi, Safiyah Siddiqi, and Anabel Lapier took part in the discussion. The participants explained the absence of aid to women in camps and refugee centers and the effects of this situation on them. The participants noted that some of the reasons for this situation are that women do not carry identity cards, or they have lost their identity papers during the journey, or they are registered as part of the identity cards of their husbands who are not with them. In such a situation, women without documents lose the right to obtain all the types of assistance—even though, eventually, they do obtain this assistance. The participants discussed this issue and the appropriate solutions to enable women refugees to run the affairs of their families.

The third session was held yesterday evening under the banner: "Urgent Emergency Relief Assistance and its Role in Helping Refugees." Dr. Abdallah Ibrahim al-'Abdan, Larifah Hadi, Howard Wells, Brigit Dally, and

Na'im Wahra participated in the discussion. Dr. al-'Abdan said that the participants discussed what needs to be done during emergencies to ensure that women refugees receive the necessary security after they arrive at refugee centers. They also discussed urgent relief assistance and the rights of the refugees, in general, and the women refugees, in particular, according to the Fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 and its two supplementary protocols, and according to other international agreements and conventions. He said: I raised during this session examples presented by an Islamic organization, which take into consideration the distinctions of women, in general, and Muslim women, in particular. One of these examples was a camp for Burmese women refugees in Bangladesh, the second a camp for Iraqi refugees in Saudi Arabia, and the third a mixed camp for members of the Rwandan Hutu and Tutsi tribes on the border between Rwanda and Tanzania. The UNHCR provided this last example to the Islamic organization as an important first experiment about the need to abandon tribalism and spread love and brotherhood. He said he suggested that observers from the Human Rights Commission or the International Federation of Red Cross (IFRC) and Red Crescent Societies be sent to refugee camps to guarantee the security of women. Another suggestion was to establish a committee in the camps representing the host government, the UNHCR, the IFRC, the refugees themselves, and a nongovernmental Islamic organization. He said that, this way, uprooted Muslim women, in particular, and women refugees, in general, can meet their needs and present their wishes and complaints.

The conference held its first session the day before yesterday under the banner: "Security and What Is Practically and Legally Needed to Protect Muslim Women Refugees." Hawwa' Adan Muhammad, Dr. Khadijah al-Midmad, Dr. Muna Haddad, and Julie Pasiland took part in the discussion. The participants discussed the distinct needs of uprooted Muslim women and their security from the time they leave their countries until they return home, including the time they spend in refugee centers. Many important ideas were raised during this session. Conference sources said that these ideas will be among the recommendations that will be announced at the end of the conference.

The conference will hold three more sessions today. The first session will be under the banner: "Strategic Preparation of Women Refugees to Make Them Depend on Themselves and Find Solutions to Their Problems." The second session will be held under the banner: "Rehabilitation of Uprooted Women." The third session will be held under the banner: "Ways for Educating and Training Uprooted Muslim Women."

A news conference will be held by some women participants to explain women's refugee problems and aspirations. The news conference will be held at the Holiday International Hotel at noon today.

Conference Recommends Action on Uprooted Muslim Women

95LH0055A *Al-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic*
15 Nov 94 p 5

[Report by Samir al-Shaykh Husayn]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Al-Shariqah International Conference on Uprooted Muslim Women resumed its meeting yesterday. The conference official spokesperson, Dr. Abdallah Ibrahim al-'Abdan, said that on the third day the conference held three sessions. The first session dealt with the long-term preparation of uprooted women to make them self-reliant and able to find solutions to their problems. The participants discussed the need for cooperation among volunteer organizations to establish vocational training centers for uprooted Muslim women to develop and promote their skills. An organization should assume the responsibility for consolidating and implementing these programs and provide material aid to women, such as sewing machines, computers, and typewriters to become more productive. Such an organization can also provide the means for poultry farming to women who live in rural areas and fields. One of the most interesting proposals called for providing easy loans for families in refugee centers and other places. But this proposal requires further study. Fatimah Hashimi, Sinari Bint-Salim, Mahbubih Karukayil, Martin Van de Ville, and Zaynab Akkar took part in discussing this issue. The second session dealt with ways to rehabilitate uprooted women. Humaydah Siddiqi, Baynat Dik, Inas al-Lafi, and Su'ad al-Jarallah took part in discussing this topic. Humaydah Siddiqi, head of the Woman's Organization in Afghanistan, noted in a working paper that the number of Afghan refugees, in the wake of the Soviet invasion, was more than the number of all the refugees from all nationalities in the world. Baynat Dik from the Norwegian Refugee Council related a personal experience. She said that she sponsored an eight-member Afghan family whose bread winner had died. She said that she trained them so they could earn their living. When she felt that they wanted to return home, she arranged for them to return. She noted in this regard that efforts should be made to repatriate as many refugees as possible to their original homelands.

The third session, held in the evening, dealt with ways to educate and train uprooted Muslim women. Tuzala Malima Madufa, Lamis al-'Alami, Maymunah Taskin al-Din, Safa' al-Sayyid al-Baz, and Maryam Hajji took part in discussing this issue. The participants discussed specific examples of educating and training women refugees. They also discussed a project undertaken by the International Islamic Relief Organization. The project involved the establishment of an educational program for 17,500 Bosnian male and female students the year before last. The Organization printed the text books for all the educational stages with the support of the Slovenian Government. This program took into consideration the characteristics of Muslim students. The discussion

also dealt with the need to establish training centers to train and develop the skills of uprooted Muslim women in such fields as sewing, embroidery, tricot, and poultry farming.

Dr. al-'Abdan also summed up the discussions in the three conference sessions held the day before yesterday. He noted that the conference recommendations will include the results of the discussions held during these sessions. These results include the need to establish early warning systems regarding the displacement of people. This will give time to the pertinent organizations to make the necessary preparations. They also include the need for the larger and stronger international organizations to encourage and support local organizations. The sessions the day before yesterday also underlined the need for contingency plans that take into consideration the peculiarities of every emergency case. They also noted the need to maintain strategic stocks to deal with emergencies and subsequent needs for medical and health care and training.

He said that Dr. Hamid Ahmad al-Rifa'i, assistant secretary general of the Islamic Conference Organization, presented a

working paper, that was not on the conference agenda, on Islam's honoring of women. In his paper, Dr. al-Rifa'i reviewed article 76 of the UN Charter, which guarantees the rights of all the UN member states.

The conference will hold three more sessions on the final day. The first will deal with uprooted children and health problems. Ibrahim Awf, Maryam Hajji Uways, Sakinah Ya'qubi, Dr. Usamah al-Rayyis, Dr. Adnan al-Mazru', Dr. Salina Ahmad, and Dr. Sharifah Qudinjak will take part in discussing this issue. The second session will deal with the causes of conflict, the restoration of peace, and providing the appropriate living conditions now. Lamija Hazyu Simanovik, Dr. Andre Van Chou, Dr. Mary Anderson, and Hodan Adwu will address this issue. The third and final session will deal with settlement in a third country, whether it is Islamic or not. Hadiyah Abdallah, Wahidah Malik, Ibtisam Hammud, Rona Bubal, Waqur Jah Maymiya will address this issue. The final ceremony will then be held to announce the conference recommendations.

India

Samata National Executive Meets, Resolutions Told

95AS0132A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 3 Nov 94 p 7

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Times of India News Service, New Delhi, November 2—The national executive of the Samata party concluded its two-day deliberations here yesterday with a call to the government to drop the move for elections in Jammu and Kashmir in view of the unsettled conditions there.

It also asked the government to take steps for checking "cultural aggression" unleashed by its new economic policies and scrap the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act (TADA).

The party president, Mr George Fernandes, said the 65 party leaders including 14 Lok Sabha MPs [Members of Parliament], who had defected from the Janata Dal to float the new organisation, emphasised that they should focus attention on the problems of farmers and launch a crusade against corruption to capture the popular imagination and stake claim for power in the next parliamentary polls.

But it was clear that notwithstanding the zeal of the 14 MPs, all of whom are well-known leaders, the party is still trying to strengthen its flanks and therefore inclined to adopt ad hoc policies rather than well-thought out programmes. For instance, while the party is opposed to the Mulayam Singh government in U.P. [Uttar Pradesh], it has no scruples in joining hands with an eight-party front in Andhra Pradesh which includes Mulayam Singh's Samajwadi party.

Similarly, while the party is opposed to the Janata Dal governments in Bihar and Orissa, it has chosen to campaign for the Janata Dal in Karnataka. On an earlier occasion, Mr Fernandes had sought to explain this anomaly by saying that Mr Deve Gowda and his supporters in the Karnataka unit of the Janata Dal would switch loyalty to the Samata party after the elections.

The executive adopted resolutions saying among other things that it was obvious even to the most non-political observers that under the prevailing conditions in Kashmir, there was no scope for any political activity. The government should release all political prisoners, stop using draconian measures against the people and start a dialogue with all sections of militants and other political forces to find a common meeting ground.

The resolution on the Supreme Court verdict on Ayodhya happenings demanded that Mr Kalyan Singh, the then chief minister of the state, or any other minister following conviction by the court be debarred from being member of the state legislature. "The court decisions have upset the gameplan of the Central government and

exposed its underlying communal approach and encouragement of the Hindutva forces," the resolution added.

Another resolution focused attention on inadequate electoral preparations in Bihar where elections are due to take place in March. The electoral rolls prepared by the state government had not been made available for scrutiny by the district election offices. Consequently, the voters could not check if they had been enrolled or not. The resolution called upon the Election Commission to have the rolls exhibited at once.

The resolution on the north-east drew attention to the "unfolding tragedies in the region" and called upon the government to take urgent measures for bringing the situation under control. "In Arunachal Pradesh, the chief minister has challenged the Centre's directive on the rehabilitation of Chakma refugees from Bangladesh and held out threats of secession if Delhi continued to maintain its softness towards Chakmas. Non-implementation of the accord with the Mizo National Front and the Congress bid to use the religious card have once again brought Mizoram on the brink of an insurgency," the resolution stressed.

The party welcomed the move for the formation of the Jharkhand Autonomous Area Council and expressed the hope that devolution of power would speed up the development work in the tribal belt.

Official Report on State of Economy Released

95AS0131A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 3 Nov 94 p 17

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Press Trust of India, New Delhi, November 2—The ongoing structural reform of the economy initiated in mid-1991 has so far produced "reassuring results" both in terms of placing the economy on a higher growth trajectory and in restoring the confidence of the global investors in India.

An official backgrounder on the state of the economy released here today said the current phase of economic management is characterised by a delicate operation. Economic stabilisation is sought to be scored without casting any "deleterious effect" on growth and employment and with a view to lifting a larger number of population from below the poverty line.

Stating that surge in foreign investment in recent months is one of the direct manifestations of the success of the economic reforms policies, it said foreign investment inflows at \$4.1 billion during 1993-94 consisted of \$620 million of direct investment, \$1.7 billion of investment by foreign institutional investors (FIIs), global depositary receipts (GDRs) of \$1.5 billion and investment of about 350 million dollars by offshore funds.

Up to end-August in the current fiscal year, total foreign investment inflows reached \$2.1 billion, consisting of direct investment of \$381 million, FII investment of \$915 million and GDR issues of \$824 million.

The government said several important changes in the macro-economic situation have supervened in the last two to three years and the economy is poised to grow at a higher rate.

The growth of gross domestic product (GDP) at factor cost which was a paltry 1.1 per cent in 1991-92 recovered to four per cent in 1992-93. The advance estimates of national income by Central Statistical Organisation (CSO) put growth of GDP (at factor cost) at 3.8 per cent in 1993-94. A much higher growth rate in GDP, of over 5 per cent, might be likely in the current fiscal year.

Referring to agriculture, it said foodgrains production in 1993-94 is estimated at 182 million tonnes as against 180 million tonnes in the previous year. Procurement of rice during 1993-94 marketing season (up to September 13, 1994) was 14.25 million tonnes [as published] higher than the minimum buffer stock norm of 22.3 million tonnes. At this level, the stocks are higher by about 25 per cent as compared to the corresponding period last year.

The government also claimed a "marked improvement" in the balance of payments (BoP) position last year. Foreign currency assets (excluding gold and SDRs [special drawing rights]) reached a level of \$15.1 billion at the end of 1993-94 which has been the result of a significant improvement in the current account of the BoP which is estimated to show a moderate deficit of \$315 million, as against a deficit of \$3.6 billion in the previous year.

The improvement in BoP persisted in the current fiscal year too with a further rise in the foreign currency assets to \$19.28 billion as on October 19, 1994.

Referring to fiscal deficit containment measures, it is stated the budget proposals for the current year include important measures to help return to the path of fiscal prudence.

It is targeted to contain fiscal deficit to six per cent of GDP this year and measures including cap on government borrowing from the Reserve Bank, doing away with advance release of money to state governments and central ministries, disallowing states' overdrafts beyond stipulated limits for ten successive working days and stricter monitoring of expenditure would help contain the fiscal deficit.

Objectives of Kashmir Department Enumerated

95AS0130A Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
5 Nov 94 p 1

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, Nov. 4—The newly constituted Department of Jammu and Kashmir Affairs under the direct charge of the Prime Minister, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, has started functioning, official sources said.

The Home Secretary, Mr K. Padmanabhaiah, has been given additional charge as Secretary to the Department.

But the Special Secretary to the Home Ministry, Mr V. K. Jain, will also work in a similar capacity. The department will have two Joint Secretaries.

All the files pertaining to the State will in future be sent directly to Mr Rao.

The department was created recently by the Prime Minister in the wake of the Chavan-Pilot controversy over their views on the Kashmir situation.

The Union Home Minister, Mr S. B. Chavan, had asserted that whatever Mr Rajesh Pilot, his Minister of State, had said were his "personal views" on Kashmir and not the Government's official stand.

They added that the thrust of the new department would be upon the following:

- To restore normality
- Initiate the political process
- Attend to damaged infrastructure such as bridges and
- Accelerate developmental activities with a view to creating jobs.

Mr Rao had reportedly been holding regular meetings on Kashmir affairs. He had deputed his Principal Secretary, Mr A. N. Varma, and the Cabinet Secretary, Mr Surendra Singh, to visit Kashmir and give a feedback on the situation.

Meanwhile, the All-Party Hurriyat Conference leader, Syed Ali Shah Geelani said today that the body had not launched an agitation for the restoration of the pre-1952-53 position in the State, adds PTI [Press Trust of India] from Srinagar.

Sharply reacting to the resolution adopted at the three-day central executive meeting of the National Conference at Jammu, Mr Geelani said the National Conference leadership had supported the Centre's stand by adopting the resolution.

Ministry Reports Widening of Trade Deficit

95AS0129A Bombay THE SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA
in English 6 Nov 94 p 14

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Business Times Bureau, New Delhi, November 5—Trade deficit during the first half of the current financial year shot up to \$1.23 billion, induced by a high import growth of 19.1 per cent. The April-September 1994 trade data released by the commerce ministry on Friday, showed that the trade gap this year was three times the level recorded at the end of the first half of the last financial year.

Apprehension regarding the fall-out of plague on exports has been found to be "unnecessarily alarmist", except for adverse effect on a few items particularly on gems and jewellery, the ministry said. Exports during September 1994 registered an increase of 24 per cent over the corresponding month of 1993. Exports during September 1994 were higher than those during the months

of May to July 1994 each. The level of export is, however, lower than the record level of August 1994.

Given the resilience of the Indian economy and entrepreneurial talents, "we are confident that short-term adverse effects could be contained or reversed within the coming weeks", the ministry said.

During the first half of the current financial year, exports were valued at \$11.62 billion against \$10.35 billion during April-September 1993, signifying a growth of 12.3 per cent. Half-yearly export growth at over 12 per cent is "encouraging", considering the deceleration in the beginning of the year and the long-term annual export growth rate of 7.5-8 per cent, the ministry said. This holds promise for attaining the Eighth Plan target of 13.6 per cent export growth, it said, adding that increase in the exports in the latter half of the year, however, needs sustained efforts from all quarters.

The import surge during the first half of the current year, was particularly pronounced during September. During this month alone, imports were valued at \$2.35 billion, up 28.4 per cent from the September 1993 level.

For the first half as a whole, imports were estimated at \$12.85 billion against \$10.79 billion during April-September 1993.

Imports, excluding petroleum oil and lubricants (POL), during April-September 1994 grew by 31.6 per cent, while POL imports declined by 13 per cent.

The significant rise in growth of imports indicates a revival of industrial production, the ministry said. This would also help in expanding the export production base. The rising industrial growth and the newly emerging export growth products in the changing conditions, points to the ensuing change in the pattern of exports and imports. More and more import-related exports, those that are foreign trade-based on increasing inter-dependence, is in store which is consistent with the objective of opening up of the economy and sustaining it.

Among the macro-economic factors, the ministry said, inflation still remains a matter of concern. Though on point-to-point basis, the rate of inflation (WPI) has declined to 8-8.5 per cent, the average rate of WPI works out to 10.6 per cent for the period April-September 1994 and may have had an adverse effect on exports from the point of view of cost competitiveness. Clearly, a further decline in the rate of inflation would help exports.

Since the actual foreign investment compared to approvals is now picking up, there may be expected benefits of technology, management and marketing links which should be fully utilised by the export sector, the ministry said.

It said the government on its part is pursuing the policy of debottlenecking and taking promotional measures to boost exports. A recent GATT [General Agreement on

Tariffs and Trade] study has shown that with post-Uruguay round trade order coming into action, the export potential would expand significantly. All efforts have to be made to prepare for India's participation in this growth, it said.

Marxist-Leninist Group Recognized as Party

95AS0128A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 8 Nov 94 p 6

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Times of India News Service, Patna, November 7—With the registration of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) [CPI-(ML)] Liberation group as a political party under the Representation of the People Act, 1951, campaigning will take an interesting turn.

The Election Commission registered the organisation with effect from August 16, 1994. In a letter to the general secretary of the party, Mr Vinod Mishra, the under-secretary in charge of the legal cell of the election commission, Mr Sohan Lal, said the party would communicate to the EC without delay any change in its name, head office, office-bearers, address or in any other material matters according to the provisions of the Representation of People Act, 1951.

The letter also said that the registration would not entitle the party to the reservation of any exclusive symbol for it. However, the candidates duly set up by the party at an election would be entitled to benefits of preference over independent candidates under paragraph 12 of the Election Symbols (Reservation and Allotment) Order, 1968:

The EC considered the application after examining the application dated March 15, 1994 for registration of the CPI(ML) Liberation group in support of the statements and related documents. The submission regarding the registration was made by Mr Swadesh Bhattacharya and Mr Dipankar Bhattacharya, members of the politbureau of the party before the EC on June 10, 1994 in respect of the application submitted in March 1994.

In the light of EC's decision to register it as a political party, the speaker of the Bihar vidhan sabha in a letter dated November 1, 1994 has merged the Indian Peoples' Front (IPF) with the CPI(ML).

The joint secretary, Bihar vidhan sabha, Mr Leo Walter Kuzur, has issued a notification in this regard on November 1. This request was made by the leader of the IPF legislator party, Mr Mahendra Prasad Singh, on August 28, 1994.

The party has decided to send its three tentative symbols to the EC for final approval. The party will field 100 candidates in the ensuing assembly election in the state and has asked all its district committee members to send three probable names. The final selection of the candidates will be decided at a state committee meeting of the party later next month. So far the party has already

received three names from districts like Rohtas, Bhojpur, Patna rural, Hazaribagh, Giridih, Bokaro, Dhanbad, Vaisali, Siwan, Chatra, Nawada and Gopalganj.

As regards the selection of candidates, the state party secretary, Mr Pawan Kumar Sharma said the first criteria for the selection of candidates would be the credential of a candidate in the party. Most of the erstwhile hardcore underground party cadres would be given priority in the distribution of tickets, Mr Sharma said. The party would explore the possibility of an electoral alliance with the Left parties and the Samata Party for several seats.

It may be recalled the party had for the first time fielded 54 candidates during the 1985 assembly election in which one IPF candidate from Hilsa assembly segment secured the second position. During the 1990 assembly election it had fielded 89 seats in which 14 secured second position and won seven seats. In the 1989 parliamentary election the IPF wrested the lone Arrah parliamentary seat out of 11 seats.

The CPI(ML) was formed on April 22, the birthday of V. I. Lenin at Calcutta in which a 21-member central committee was announced. Mr Charu Mazumdar was its first chairman.

Commissioner Says Kashmir Not Ready for Polls

95AS0127A Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
8 Nov 94 p 5

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Thiruvananthapuram, Nov. 7—In an apparent reversal of his stand, the Chief Election Commissioner, Mr T. N. Seshan, said here today that the situation in Kashmir was not conducive to holding elections. "Kashmir has its internal agonies", he said.

(According to agencies, Mr Seshan said it was not practical to allow the Kashmiri pandits, who had left the Valley, to take part in the electoral process in the State from their current places of residence.)

The political process in the State has already been initiated with electoral rolls in the process of being finalized.

Identity Cards

The CEC [Chief Election Commissioner] reiterated his warning to the State Governments that he would not hold elections until they complied with the directives that had been sent for issuing identity cards to the voters. "Nothing would alter my decision in this regard", he said.

He pointed out that some States—including Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh—had not yet floated tenders for the I-card scheme while others had completed more than 50 per cent of the work.

Intra-Party Polls

Mr Seshan denied reports of his references to inner-party democracy and said that his remarks about parties not holding organizational elections related to parties that had undergone a split.

Biography

Madras High Court today directed Mr Seshan, his biographer, Mr K. Govindan Kutty, and the publishers of his biography to make necessary arrangements to withdraw copies of the book from dealers, adds PTI [Press Trust of India].

In an interim order on a suit filed by the AIADMK [All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] general secretary, Miss Jayalalitha, Mr Justice K. Ramamoorthy said he had read the entire book and concluded that it contained portions "which are not only defamatory but also in bad taste".

Russian Team Cuts Visit to India Short

95AS0126A Hyderabad *DECCAN CHRONICLE* in English
8 Nov 94 p 9

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Nov 7 [United News of India] & AP—The Russian parliamentary delegation headed by Duma Speaker, Mr Ivan Rybkin, has returned home after cutting short its Indian visit.

Mr Rybkin told reporters at Vnukovo-2 VIP airport on Sunday night that his Indian visit was cut short by two days due to "a lot of urgent chores at home." He, however, stressed that the working part of the visit was "fully completed."

The Duma Speaker criticised the utilisation of Rs 3,000 crore debt repayment by India in the current fiscal year lying with the Reserve Bank of India since September 1993, saying that such schemes implemented "through 15 middlemen and up to 40 per cent loss are unacceptable."

Observers believe that the appointment of radical reformist Mr Anatoly Chubais as the first Vice-Premier of Russia under the current Cabinet reshuffle and the resignation of centrist Vice-Premier Alexander Shokhin might have violated the agreement reached between President Boris Yeltsin and Mr Rybkin at their meeting before the latter's Indian visit and resulting in cutting his trip short.

President Yeltsin on Sunday formally accepted the resignation of Mr Shokin, Economics Minister, who quit the government on Friday.

Mr Yeltsin issued a terse one-sentence decree saying that Mr Shokin was relieved of both positions at his own request. Mr Shokin's resignation was the latest fallout from the one-day crash of the rouble on October 11, when the currency lost 21 per cent of its value.

The rouble recovered, but the financial strategists in charge of the economy were made to pay. The acting Finance Minister, Mr Sergei Dubinin, was immediately sacked, and his replacement, Mr Andrei Vavilov, was let off on Thursday after being reprimanded for his role in the rouble crisis.

Mr Yeltsin has also fired Mr Viktor Krunya, the country's top foreign currency regulator, and pressured Mr Viktor Gerashchenko to resign as Central Bank Chairman.

President Yeltsin gave Mr Chubais broad powers to shape economic policy after the three weeks of disarray in the government's economic sector. On Friday, he named Mr Vladimir Panskov as Mr Vavilov's replacement, the third Finance Minister in three weeks.

The Economics Minister's job remains unfilled, and changes are widely rumoured in other posts amid finger-pointing and political jockeying that has continued unabated since the rouble's crash.

The promotion of Mr Chubais, the lone survivor from the post-Soviet Russia's original team of young radical economists, was cheered by liberal reformers, including Mr Shokin.

The Interfax news agency said Mr Chubais's new duties would include overseeing the ministries of economics and finance and taking charge of Russia's relations with international financial institutions.

The promotion makes him first of the two Deputy Prime Ministers along with Mr Oleg Soskovets. Only Mr Yeltsin and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin are higher-ranked.

Nambiar Returns From Moscow, No Pacts Signed

95AS0125A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in
English 8 Nov 94 p 1

[Article by Manoj Joshi: "Indo-Russian Talks on Arms Purchase"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Times of India News Service, New Delhi, November 7—A statement attributed, wrongly according to Indian officials, to the speaker of the Russian Parliament, Mr Ivan Rybkin, that India and Russia, along with China, could have a tripartite defence relationship, along with a rash of items detailing a variety of arms that India was about to make from Russia revived memories of another era.

But the defence secretary, Mr K. A. Nambiar, returned from Moscow last week without signing any agreement. Officials in the ministry say Mr Nambiar was in Russia as the head of a delegation, comprising officials of his ministry dealing with finance and R&D, not on a shopping mission but to participate in a meeting of the Military Technical Co-operation Council whose aim is to restructure and revive the once close relationship between Russia and India.

Discussions were held on important arms purchases but much to the despair of the Russians, the Indian delegation was not ready to sign on the dotted line. In a few weeks from now the chief of the Russian military export organisation, Rosvoruzhenie, Lt. Gen. T. Semoylev, plans to visit India, and insiders suggest that the main agreements will be signed then, a departure from past practice when most of the agreements were signed in Moscow.

In an initial flush of enthusiasm, the Russians, not so surprisingly egged on by their erstwhile rivals, declared that they would convert their military-industrial complex to civilian production units. By 1992 they began singing a different tune when they realised that they were dismantling what was perhaps the most attractive sector of their exports. But the damage had been done, combined with political uncertainty, the massive ex-Soviet military-industrial complex began grinding to a halt.

Estimates are that Soviet exports plummeted from some \$17 billion in 1987 to some \$1.2 billion last year. Worse was that the Russian armed forces strapped for cash, stopped their own purchases of equipment ranging from aircraft like Mig-29s and Su-27s to SAMs, self-propelled guns, tanks, transport aircraft and naval ships.

Early last year, the Russian President, Mr Boris Yeltsin, offered India an \$830 million credit to strengthen the new relationship. But for an agreement, signed during the Prime Minister, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao's visit to Moscow earlier this year to create a joint venture to manufacture spares for erstwhile Soviet equipment for export worldwide, nothing much seems to have happened. That credit has been extended once, and again the Russians say that the time to utilise it is running out in a few weeks.

The Russians have told their Indian counterparts that they were interested in a comprehensive relationship with India which involves joint R&D and production as well as servicing and export of weapons' systems and equipment. They have hinted that should India not accept the offer, the Pakistanis may move in, even though most Russian officials privately admit that the Pakistani offer is a bit of a bluff.

Election Commission Clarifies Code of Conduct

95AS0124A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in
English 9 Nov 94 pp 1, 13

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bombay, Nov 8—The announcement of new projects or programmes, concessions and financial grants or promises and laying of foundation stones, which have the effect of influencing voters in favour of the party in power, have been prohibited under the model code of conduct, the Central Election Commission (CEC) clarified today.

Although these restrictions will apply equally to new schemes and ongoing schemes, the CEC says that it does not mean that in the case of national, regional and state

utility schemes, which have been brought up to the stage of completion, their functioning in the public interest should be stopped or delayed.

The coming into force of the model code of conduct cannot be given as an excuse for not commissioning such schemes or allowing them to remain idle. At the same time, it should be ensured that the commissioning of such schemes should be done without fanfare or ceremonies.

The CEC has "firmly rejected the view held in certain quarters" that formal functions of "dedication" or inauguration to celebrate the completion of a project or taking up any work sanctioned earlier before the announcement of general elections or a by-election will not constitute a violation of the model code.

The CEC further clarified that simply because a budget provision has been made for a particular scheme or the scheme has been sanctioned earlier or a reference to the scheme was made in the address of the governor or the budget speech of a minister, it does not automatically mean that such schemes can be announced or taken up after the announcement of elections.

However, the CEC will not refuse approval for schemes undertaken for genuine public good and also for measures for providing relief to people suffering from drought, floods, pestilence or other natural calamities.

Among the other do's and don'ts for political parties are:

Criticism of other political parties and candidates should relate to their policies, programmes, past record and work.

Permission must be obtained for the use of loudspeakers. The right of every individual to peaceful and undisturbed homelife should be safeguarded.

No one without a specific valid authority letter from the CEC can enter any polling booth at any time.

Temples, mosques or any other place of worship shall not be used as places for election propaganda.

Demonstrations or picketing before the houses of individuals shall not be resorted to.

Processions along places at which meetings are being held by another party shall not be undertaken.

Tamil Nadu Assembly Postpones Elections

95AS0123A Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE in English 9 Nov 94 p 12

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Madras, Nov. 8 (PTI [Press Trust of India])—Elections to village panchayats and panchayat unions in Tamil Nadu, which ought to have been held before January 21, 1995, have been postponed by a year, with the government introducing a Bill in the

Assembly on Tuesday seeking to extend the term of special officers running the bodies up to December 31, 1995.

The Opposition Congress members rose to oppose the Bill at the introduction stage itself, when the local Administration Minister, Mr T. M. Selvaganapathy, sought leave to introduce it. The House permitted the introduction by voice vote.

The statement of objects and reasons said the government required further time to conclude its preparatory work for holding the elections. The various changes required to be made in the constitution of panchayats, the division of panchayats into territorial wards, provision of reservation for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and women by allotting seats in rotation as per the details of the 1991 census (which were yet to be published by the Directorate of census operations) would take three to six months, it said.

The State Election Commission would require a further six months to take necessary action to conduct the elections thereafter. Moreover, the Election Commission of India, which had ordered for intensive revision of electoral rolls (which will also be the rolls for the local bodies polls) had barred any change in any ward or division or their boundaries, or any change in administrative units through bifurcation or amalgamation or constitution of panchayats. It was not possible to conduct the elections without reconstitution of panchayat wards, it said.

For all these reasons, the government had decided to extend the term of special officers by amending the Tamil Nadu Panchayat Act, 1994.

High-Level Foreign Policy Review, Statement Issued

95AS0121A Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE in English 11 Nov 94 p 1

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, Nov. 10—The Prime Minister, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, on Thursday had a high-level review of India's foreign policy postulates in the context of fast-changing geopolitical situation as reflected particularly in events like the recent Republican Party victory in the US Congress elections, Mrs Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunge's victory in Sri Lanka and the last minute dropping of the move to table a Pakistani drafted resolution on Kashmir in the United Nations Disarmament and International Security Committee by the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) contact group due to lack of support from member countries.

All these three events have considerable bearing on India, political observers here feel.

Meanwhile, the South Bloc is gratified that national capitals around the world and delegations to the United

Nations have understood India's approach that a resolution moved by the OIC contact group in the first committee of the UN General Assembly would not be productive either of a meaningful dialogue between India and Pakistan, or of pursuing democratic process and promotion of human rights in Jammu and Kashmir. This is virtually a victory for Indian diplomacy, political circles noted adding that the international community has appreciated India's offer for bilateral dialogue between India and Pakistan and internationalisation of the issue would only complicate the matter. World community in the UN also found that India was serious about its intention for bilateral talks.

It was recalled that on October 31, this year the Prime Minister, Mr Narasimha Rao, himself, while speaking on the occasion of the ninth Indira Gandhi Award for National Integration, reiterated that "we remain committed, as always, to a resolution of all outstanding issues in accordance with the Simla agreement, and I once again call upon our neighbour (Pakistan) to respond to our efforts to establish good neighbourly relations".

In a suo moto statement, the official spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry on Thursday observed: "The Government of India is grateful to many countries, including those in the OIC, which have recognised the merit of India's approach, and worked towards a constructive and positive position by not tabling the draft resolution in the UN committee".

Underlining the Government of India's keen desire and willingness to enhance the level of its relationship with all countries who seek it in the spirit of cooperation and friendship, the spokesman reiterated India's "firm desire to build friendly and good neighbourly relations with Pakistan, and to discuss all issues between the two countries in a meaningful and constructive bilateral dialogue".

Officials Comment on OIC Move, Other Matters

Khurshid to UNI

95AS0122A Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE in
English 11 Nov 94 pp 1, 9

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, Nov. 10 (UNI [United News of India])—India on Thursday hailed the virtual refusal of the United Nations to entertain a Pakistan-inspired resolution on Jammu and Kashmir and said the development would aid the country's efforts to normalise the situation and hold elections.

"We look forward to holding elections in Jammu and Kashmir," for which the process had already been set in motion, the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr Salman Khurshid, told UNI.

He said the failure of the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) countries contact group to table the resolution in the UN General Assembly's first committee

reflected the "widespread support" for New Delhi's stand to resolve the issue bilaterally.

Mr Khurshid said the OIC had shown sensitivity and concern for India's position, which is to settle the outstanding dispute with Pakistan bilaterally. Asked whether Pakistan would make any attempt in future to move such a resolution, the minister said it seemed "unlikely".

Earlier, an official spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry hoped that Pakistan would not internationalise the Kashmir issue again and instead resolve it bilaterally.

In a letter to some foreign ministers of OIC countries with whom he was in telephonic contact, Mr Khurshid said: "I am happy to hear that good sense has prevailed and the contact group has been dissuaded from tabling the resolution in the first committee."

Expressing gratefulness for their support and personal contribution towards this "happy outcome," he said, "I take this opportunity to convey to you the Government of India's gratitude for having understood our approach and its merits."

He said India had always emphasised its readiness to pursue a meaningful and constructive bilateral dialogue with Pakistan to discuss all outstanding issues within the framework of the Shimla agreement.

Reacting to Pakistan's failure to table a resolution on the Kashmir issue, in the first committee of the UNGA, the External Affairs Ministry spokesman said Islamabad should realise that internationalising the issue would complicate the problem.

He reiterated India's firm desire to build friendly and good neighbourly relations with Pakistan and to discuss all issues between the two countries in a meaningful and constructive bilateral dialogue.

This is the second time that Pakistan has failed to move a resolution on the Kashmir issue in a UN forum, failing to get support from member-countries of the OIC.

Pakistan had made a desperate bid to move a resolution on human rights violations in Jammu and Kashmir at the UN Commission for Human Rights in Geneva in March. But it could not muster requisite number of countries to sponsor the resolution.

The spokesman was happy that the international community had understood India's position that India genuinely desired a bilateral dialogue with Pakistan and prevailed upon Islamabad to desist from tabling the resolution.

In a statement, the spokesman said India was gratified that national capitals around the world and delegations to the United Nations had understood its approach that the resolution moved by the OIC contact group would not be productive either of a meaningful dialogue

between India and Pakistan, or of pursuing the democratic process and promotion of human rights in Jammu and Kashmir.

He said India was grateful to many countries, including those in the OIC, which had recognised the merit of India's approach and worked towards a constructive and positive position by not tabling the draft resolution in the UN committee.

The spokesman said: "India underlines its keen desire and willingness to enhance the level of its relationship with all countries who seek it, in the spirit of cooperation and friendship."

New York: The decision of the OIC contact group not to table a Pakistan initiated resolution on Kashmir at the United Nations is a "right step" in the best interests of all concerned, Mr E. Ahmed, a member of the Indian delegation, said on Thursday.

Mr Ahmed, leader of the Indian Union Muslim League, hoped the OIC would prevail upon Pakistan to respond favourably to the readiness expressed by India to hold a bilateral dialogue to resolve all outstanding issues instead of exploiting its proximity with the OIC to whip up anti-India sentiments in the UN.

Mr Ahmed said Pakistan should understand that a dialogue was the only way to resolve outstanding issues between the two countries.

Khurshid TV Interview

95AS0122B Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE in English 11 Nov 94 p 9

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, Nov. 10—The recent decision to place Kashmir affairs directly under the Prime Minister's charge is being interpreted abroad as a sign of India's greater determination to find an early political solution to the problem, the Union Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr Salman Khurshid, said.

Answering questions in an interview to "Eyewitness," a weekly current affairs programme on Doordarshan II, the minister said this was the feedback he received from foreign governments.

Asked if things were made difficult for his ministry by the different postures adopted by different Cabinet ministers, Mr Khurshid answered in the negative, pointing out that the situation was the same from across the border also. "So I think when we get back to New York or Geneva, it's what you see face to face that matters," he said.

Accusing Pakistan of playing a political game in the United Nations, the minister said: "There are 12 members of Parliament from Pakistan who are vigorously advocating, campaigning, pressurising virtually everybody in the OIC (Organisation of Islamic Conference) to

push them in the direction in which Pakistan wants them to go. It is very clearly a political issue, which has political overtones."

On its part, India has sent a signal to the OIC group that it could not trifle with India. "India has made a point and the same has gone home," he said.

"Just because Kashmir is full of Muslims, therefore we should simply carve it out. I think the point that this is a bilateral matter and critical for India's nation-hood has gone home and I hope that it has an impact," he added.

Asked what message he would want to communicate to Islamabad, Mr Khurshid said: "As regards Pakistan, we really have to get it into their heads that Kashmir will never, never part company with India."

Asked how the Indian Government could break what had become a vicious cycle where every six months the Pakistanis were seeking to embarrass India in the United Nations and putting the government on the defensive, the minister said: "I think we are close to breaking it. This might well be the breakpoint. And if they cannot get anything this time I can't see them coming back with a similar resolution next year."

Asked what he might say to Ms Benazir Bhutto if he had an opportunity to try and persuade her to give up this sort of political behaviour, Mr Khurshid said: "I would say think of what your father may have hoped to do when he signed the Shimla agreement in 1972. Let's begin where he left off. Let's begin where Mrs Gandhi and Mr Bhutto left off. They were working towards a solution. Let's take the same path."

The minister, however, admitted that the government was still groping for a path in Kashmir. "We are groping for a path towards a normal situation in Kashmir. The position, the time, the nature, the form, all this will take shape as we go along," he said.

Bengal Opening to Foreign Investment Analyzed

Industrialization Needed

95AS0117A Calcutta SAPTARIK BARTAMAN in Bengali 12 Nov pp 9-12

[Article by Santosh Bhattacharya: "Can Industrial Markets Come To West Bengal?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] How much possibility is there for industrialization in West Bengal? There is an ambiguity in the question as no time frame is mentioned in it. The question should be what is the possibility for speedy industrialization in West Bengal. Industrialization took place in different countries of the world for the last two centuries after the Industrial Revolution in England. The history of industrialization in our country goes back more than a century. Though after independence, the speed of industrialization increased, that speed is not sufficient enough to reach anything like the industrially

developed nations. As a result, after almost fifty years of independence, India is still one of the poor countries of the world. In case of West Bengal, the situation is same. Industrialization took place in the western and southern part of this country during the last five decades. Eastern India is, therefore, industrially less developed in comparison to other parts. The situation of West Bengal is more pathetic. During British rule, West Bengal was industrially more advanced than other states of India. Now if West Bengal wants to reach the development level of the industrialized states of western and southern India, the speed of her industrialization has to be faster. It is needless to mention that if West Bengal wants to reach the development level of industrially developed nations of Asia like South Korea or Taiwan besides the question of the rich countries, the speed of her industrialization process has to be more rapid. So, the real question to us is what will be the speed of the industrialization process in West Bengal? If someone thinks that there will be no industrialization, they will be wrong. As it happened in the past, it will happen in future. The growth rate may increase due to the initiative of Jyoti Basu. But will that match the need? Let me say at the beginning that in this respect my opinion is whatever is attained is good. I find no reason why I should not support the recent governmental initiative for industrialization in West Bengal. To come to the forefront from a backward position and to make necessary adjustment in the speed of industrialization, something like an industrial revolution is needed. To make it happened, changes are needed in all the aspects of economic life in our society. There is no sign of all-around efforts, nor even acceptance in principle for the kind of drastic initiative that is needed for a change like that. Without that kind of effort, the hope of industrialization in West Bengal will end in vain. There is no dearth of materials needed for development of modern industry in West Bengal. The necessary steel and cement plants are here to build factories and mills as well as there is no natural hindrance to expand those industries. Many kinds of agricultural raw materials are produced here besides tea and jute. West Bengal has the resource of a large number of educated middle class and skilled labourers that is very important for modern industry. All these resources are unused due to the shortage of capital, the most important resource. Due to the shortage of capital not only the new industry and infrastructure did not develop, the modernization of old industries and infrastructure was not possible. Those who are eager for industrialization of West Bengal should have a clear idea about capital. The leftists have a simple theory about the lack of industrial growth in West Bengal in the past. It is the stepmotherly attitude of the central government. According to them, in the period of planned economy, the central government not only arbitrarily invested government capital, but influenced private investment by controlling industrial licenses and long-term loan system and by equating transportation tariffs in the name of removing regional disparity. If there is any practical basis behind this theory still there

is not any clear explanation about the central government's stepmotherly attitude toward the eastern region and West Bengal. It is privately heard that the reasons might be fear about the West Bengal leftist movement and jealousy about relative advancement of the Bengali people. If the second reason is true, it is difficult to believe that private investment opted to go somewhere else leaving the site of profit. In case of the first reason, it is true that the leftist movements in West Bengal created fear in the minds of the owners of capital. There was no certainty about profit from investment in West Bengal when the return of the invested capital was uncertain. The work for modernization of industries was resisted in the name of securing employment. This process began in the middle of the 60's in the period of the rule of the first United Front government. The process continued from the start of the left front government in 1977 till 1991. So, the leftists of West Bengal have to take the responsibility for the lack of investment in the industries in West Bengal. The leftists have to change their economic ideas if they want to succeed in rapid industrialization of West Bengal. What should be the basic things of those changed economic ideas? Firstly, capital is friend, not an enemy. The creation of capital is always desirable if that increases the total capital of the country at present and in future. It means, it should be watched that capital created in one field might do harm to capital in another field, but the gain in total capital must be higher than the loss. It can be explained by an example. When dam is built on a river, the land behind the dam falls under water. If that portion of land is of no use, there is nothing to worry about. But if that is an agricultural land or inhabited by people, it should be calculated that whether the advantage of building the dam is more than the loss caused by the dam. If the advantage is more, building of dam should not be opposed. In this case, the problem is those who will be profited and those who will suffer are not the same people. Those who will suffer must organize a movement to protest and claim compensation. But if the dam is not built due to that movement, it is a national loss, because, the total wealth of the nation will fail to increase. There is another example—the issue of creation of capital by deforestation and environmental pollution. This could hinder the creation of capital in future. It must be calculated in that case whether by this the total capital will increase or not. There must not be any damage to the forests nor there must not be any kind of pollution—these kinds of concerns will make it almost impossible for countries like ours to achieve the growth of capital and industrial development. The creation of capital is more useful when that generates more capital through production. That becomes possible when production is made in accordance with demand. It means, the financial significance of capital is price-oriented and not product-oriented. If the buyers do not want a particular type of produced good, that production does not have any financial importance. If garments (Dhoti or Sari) do not find a buyer unless sold at less than the cost of production and if the government has to

subsidize that production, the capital invested for producing janata garments is not compensated for the loss. It means, instead of creating capital in some other fields that that loss is compensated by subsidies. That same kind of economic logic is applicable against the policy of protectionism. The meaning of protectionism is forcing the buyers to purchase goods at a higher price. It may seem that protected production is made on the basis of demand and there should not be the question of subsidy. Yes, the question is there in an indirect way. In the absence of foreign competitors there remains no urge to reduce production cost and at the same time, domestic industry is invested with more capital in comparison to foreign industries. This additional capital is in fact national subsidies. If this capital investment was competition oriented, the additional capital could have created more capital and production. The rationale of infant-industries can be used in favor of industrial protection, but that rationale is applicable in case of infants and not for adults. Thirdly, in my opinion what is most important for investment of capital in West Bengal is a cordial socio-economic environment. For rapid industrialization, not only is change in industrial policy but also an over-all change in economic policy and the character of social behavior is needed. It is easily understandable that industrialization is a part of total economic activity. Those who will invest in industry, their success will not depend on industrial policy alone but also on the state's agricultural, city development, infrastructure, education and tax policies. Between 1977 and 1991, the application of economic policies in West Bengal was influenced by anti-capital perspective. Let us take the case of agricultural policy. Due to the imposition of ceiling regulation on agricultural land in the name of land reform, cultivation in larger units of land has become impossible in West Bengal. The logic behind the distribution of land of the big farmers was that those people do not have interest in increasing production. But the farmer who takes more interest in his land and wants to make profit, why should his land be taken under ceiling regulations? It is claimed that production is more when cultivated in small units of land. That is a debatable matter. But if we accept that claim, there is no doubt about the fact that capital generated from surplus income from cultivation is found more when production is done in large tracts of land. This is proven in Haryana and Punjab. So, the imposition of ceiling system on land which is cultivated by the farmer himself is anti-capital. For this reason, capital and modern technology needed for increasing production in cultivation of fruits and flowers or fisheries will not come. The reason is it will be too expensive for small tracts of land. A great possibility of expansion of agriculture-based industry arrived due to the new economic policy of India. This kind of industry has the power to compete in the international market as land and labor are cheap in India. If the agricultural production, the raw materials of the industry, is not produced in a huge proportion with the help of the application of modern technology and is not available inexpensively, the industry will be defeated in competition and will fail

to attract capital. The present situation of West Bengal is such that apart from getting raw material inexpensively, the industrialists do not get suitable land to build their factories and they have to ask the help of the government for that. The government's own land may not appear to be suitable to them. The urban development policy of West Bengal is another example. The bad effect of anti-capital policy may not be found so clearly in the rural areas as it is noticeable in the cities. Let us take up the condition of Calcutta and its neighborhoods besides the conditions of suburban towns. The road condition is indescribable and garbage is not cleaned regularly. When the citizen's limit of patience is broken, they come down to the streets and cordon it in protest. Then the minister or a big shot comes there and takes immediate action. Or, during the festivals, action is taken to clean the roads and the streets. Other times, that work remains undone. Reasons such as lack of funds, or lack of work culture, or provisions of earning livelihood of the poor etc. are put forward. The basic reason for all of these is lack of interest to collect from the consumers the necessary capital needed for maintenance of municipal services. As a result, subsidy becomes necessary and private investments are not utilized. Due to the present house rent law, private capital is not interested to build new houses or to repair old houses in a legal way. On the other hand, the possibility of increase of income through corporation taxes is limited. The restructure of the city is impossible under the Basti (slum) Act. As the services to the slum areas expand, the slum population and the cost of services increase. But there is no equal collection. In the name of providing livelihood to the poor, all the street pavements of the city were leased to the leaders and administration, though it is heard that the stalls in the pavement of commercial areas are bought and sold hundreds of thousand rupees. The leaders of West Bengal often say that the condition of Calcutta will not improve unless a satellite city develops. Until that dream comes true and as long as Calcutta will be considered as a provider of livelihood to the poor and not as the main center of administration and trade and commerce, there is no hope for a permanent improvement. The main economic principle of urban development should be as the consumers are getting the services, they have to pay for them. If this principle is applied, private capital will be available for many urban services. I do not feel any necessity to cite more examples. It is difficult to find any aspect from road building, transportation systems, education policies to tax policies where private investment was encouraged. Until 1991, in the name of distribution of wealth very few opportunities for investment in small amounts were offered to the private sector. But no opportunity for bigger investment was offered. To turn the industrial tide in West Bengal, larger capital investments should be welcomed, because, they have got the power and ability to build new industry with modern technology. During last few years, our chief minister privately has been saying these things. But his government and his party, Communist Party of India-Marxist [CPM] felt proud to call themselves anti-capital until

1992. The official name of the party is Communist Party of India-Marxist, but to the common people they call themselves the party for the poor. After the economic reforms introduced by the central government in 1991 and when the central subsidies dried out, they realized that permanent improvement of the condition of the poor would be impossible without the enhancement of their own economic power. So, since last two years, the Marxist Communist Party and the left front government are trying to bring industries to West Bengal. There is no being picky and choosy about the ownership of capital. Domestic, foreign, large and small—all kinds of capitals are invited. There is no support for anti-industrialization movement in the name of the interest of the labourers. There is no objection for the introduction of computers in the name of reduction of employment opportunities. Now the question is whether the change of mind in the top level of the ruling party in West Bengal will get acceptance in the lower level of the party. In the villages and in the slums of the cities, in the offices and factories, the party cadres for years collected the votes of the poor by supporting their cause and by fighting against capital. In the process of industrialization, somewhere or other poor people's interests will get hurt. The owners of small land might be displaced in the process building of factories as it happened in case of The Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation. The same problem will arise at the time of constructing new roads and bridges. Some reduction of work force may take place at the beginning due to the introduction of computers in some old industries and offices. If the consumer has to pay the cost of urban services, Calcutta will no longer be a haven for the poor. Will the lower level workers of the ruling party quietly accept these things? If they accept these for the fear of punishment, will they get votes in their locality? The ruling party, therefore, is unable to convince the workers of the lower level. Though the ruling party wanted to suppress this dilemma, sometimes it came to surface. It was reported that the government housing board, in spite of purchasing land and being unable to dislodge the unlawful residents on the land, finally, had to abandon the project of building houses. When the government is so helpless, where will the private investors get the strength to come forward? In spite of many threats, small cattle-rustlers are around. Auto-rickshaws are carrying five passengers in a share system by completely disregarding the law requiring meters. Though they are not permitted to enter into the city limits, still they erected stands inside the city limits. A negotiation for compromise is going on for limiting the number of passengers to four. It does not appear that the ruling party or the government has any concern about the increase in the number of vehicles or the possibility of accidents. To hire an auto-rickshaw is a necessity. An act is under consideration for controlling pedestrians, simultaneously, a licensing system is going to be introduced for stalls on the pavements. The project of modernization of the steel factories of Burnpur and Kulti is not yet done due to the pressure of the labor unions. The modernization project of Great Eastern Hotel is also blocked. The

authorities now are trying to hide the truth. They are announcing the contract of a new project every day. These announcements inviting prospective investors and entrepreneurs are written in Bengali as if there are plenty of Bengali capitalists. It was heard that the Pepsi Cola company was given conditions, such as; local people have to be employed, the raw materials available in West Bengal have to be used and it should be sold in West Bengal. It means, they are showing their followers that they are not doing anything sacrificing the interests of the state. The whole thing is ridiculous. Is Pepsi going to accept those conditions reducing their profit? Do they have no other place to go? If that was the situation, all those conditions are meaningless. Pepsi would have done those things in their own interests. The authorities cannot say openly that there is no other condition except human rights and environmental protection to establish industries in West Bengal. There will be no ideological or conditional regulations. Anyone can establish or modernize any industry on the basis of competition in the state and by that West Bengal will be benefited. In my opinion, the root problem of the rapid industrialization process in West Bengal lies in the economic ideas of the lower level workers of the ruling party, and the question is whether the ruling party would be able to make changes in their thought processes. That is most important. The investors are extremely cautious and calculating people. The roads and streets from the airport to the Writers Building [State parliament] and the adjoining respectable scenery will not be able to influence them. The ruling party may think that quick change is not possible and there is a chance of losing elections on that path. They may even believe that everything will be all right in the slow process. In that case they should think whether they will get sufficient time for that. The Soviet Communist Party did not get that time.

Capital Investment Badly Needed

95AS0117B Calcutta SAPTAAIK BARTAMAN in Bengali 12 Nov 94 pp 13-16

[Article by Partha Sarathi Sengupta "It is Not Harmful To Start This Enterprise Even at This Late Date"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Who knew Amitab Bachchan when he had not become a famous megastar? Being the son of a middle class family the assets this tall young man had were a University degree and his smart looking appearance. He came here in search of a job. He was not all alone of course. He stayed with a family he knew. No one waited in the platform of the Howrah station that day to welcome that unknown young man. After arriving in Calcutta, his daily work was to look at the employment pages in the newspaper and to send applications. Within a few months he got a job in a foreign firm. Today in the nineties, this sounds strange in West Bengal. Without any personal reference or registering your name in the book of the ruling political party [CPM] can you get a job on the basis of your qualifications just by sending an application? It seems a dream to

the millions of jobless people in the state. The people of Bengal do not have the key today that can open the door of a job. Today there is no job. Year after year the cards in the employment exchange gather dust. The dream of Calcutta was lost from our life when roads were washed with water every morning, the shady trees covered Rashbehari Avenue and sights were not obstructed by the stalls in the pavements. The aristocratic north Calcutta was not invaded by degraded cultural explosion and the songs of Hemanta could be heard from the windows of the houses and films of Uttam and Suchitra were released often. In those days people from other states like Amitab came to Calcutta in search for a job. Calcutta never turned anyone out and they got jobs. Today, Bengalis have lost the last stake to live a normal life and have become foreigners in their own land. This is a rude reality. An educated young son of a middle class family can join the smuggling group on the India - Bangladesh border and a young daughter of a lower middle class family can turn to prostitution for providing food to her family. If they strike their heads on the brick walls of the Writers' Building, they will not get a job in near future. Because the state does not have any new industry and the existing industries are struggling to survive. The source of job opportunities in the state has dried up. "There is lots of talk now that industries are coming to this state. But those need to be physically seen", said Rushi Moody. He is not ready to be overwhelmed by any verbal promises. He wants to see with his own eyes. Let one or two industries come in this state first and then a positive remark can be made about the situation. Mr. Moody is not brushing off the recent efforts of the state government to promote industrialization in the state. He does not slight the efforts of chief minister Jyoti Basu or Somnath Chatterjee, the newly appointed chairman of West Bengal Industrial Development Corporation [WBIDC]. He thinks that both are pragmatic persons. But the question is how much these two persons can achieve? According to Mr. Moody, the ruling CPM party has a great role in the overall improvement of the industrial situation in the state. On the issue of industrialization, ignoring the CPM party would be foolish. CPM has to play the key role in the total and positive change in attitude to the industrial situation of the state. Otherwise, the party could stand as an obstacle on the way to industrialization if the traditional and conservative ideas triumphed inside the party. The trade unions in West Bengal still enjoy unnecessary power and influence. According to Mr. Moody, the main responsibility in this task remains with CPM party. This party has to decide what place it will secure for itself in the future. The communists have been ousted from power all over the world. West Bengal is one of the last bastions of the communists in the world. What they do is yet to be seen; "Keep it in mind that America had not lost hopes in West Bengal. They are also watching to see if positive changes are coming to Bengal. America is also interested in West Bengal from the perspective of commerce and

industry", said Mr. Mahendra Kumar Jalan, the industrialist and member of the executive committee of Merchants Chamber of Commerce. He said that after the signing of the contract with the state government over the proposed Kulpi port, some representatives from the U.S. Consulate met with him. They were highly interested about the possibility of investment of American capital in this state. Until now the major portion of American capital invested in India went to Bombay, Bangalore and in other places. The representatives of the American consulate informed him that they would talk to the proper authorities to advocate the investment of U.S. capital in this state. The British representatives are also coming this state. Signs of change in ideas and attitude are noticeable now in all levels in the state. The efforts for industrialization are now going to be materialized. The president of the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce Prava Khaitan feared that the question of industrialization or wave of industrialization might become a dream like the lamp of Alladin. The state government is sincerely trying and there is no doubt about their goodwill. But it should be examined that whether there is proper infrastructure for industrialization in West Bengal. If that is not existing, where is the problem to accept that? According to Prava, the role of CPM should be examined in the perspective of the industrialization in this state. Firstly, many people of this party are not at all familiar with business language. Secondly, the conservative socialist ideas are pressed on the party as something like theocracy. Jyoti Basu has to take more drastic steps to get his party to comply with the changed national and international industrial and trade and commerce situation. Prava said that we are not communists. But we, the managerial elite or industrial and commercial circle, are privileged classes. The labors work merely to live. It is not agreeable that they have the sole responsibility to bring a change in work culture. Change in work culture should also come about in the in the higher level. They come to work in the morning and go to lunch at 12 noon—this cannot be an example of a good work culture. Everybody wants some industries to come in this state. But if trading comes instead, it will be a matter of concern. Some minimum infrastructures are necessary for industry. If telephone lines do not work or road conditions do not improve, the ports in Haldia or Kulpi will remain underutilized. Who will go there? Will Jyoti Basu be able to go forward without the backing of his party? I do not think so. "Jyoti Basu is trying for industrialization in the state with consent of his party", said Samir Ghosh, the president of Bengal National Chamber of Commerce and Industries. In reply to a question as to whether CPM is an obstacle or helping force to industrialization, Samir Ghosh said that the party criticized the industrial policy of this state government. They also criticized the liberal policy followed by the West Bengal state leadership. Jyoti Basu now has convinced the party leadership of the state unit of Kerala. The other parties of the left front coalition were against this at the beginning. But their opposition could not stop this policy. Mr. Ghosh is very optimistic about

Haldia. He said that he had a talk about Haldia with Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, the President of India, when he visited Calcutta. President Sharma showed great interest in Haldia and remark that the industrial picture of the state will completely change at the completion of the Haldia project. Mr. Ghosh did not want to make any comment about the future of the proposed Kulpi port as he said that central government's permission is needed to build any port and he did not know that whether it was taken in this case or not. According to the statistics of Ajoy Rungta, Chairman of FICCI, 43 percent of the total investment in this country is going to western India. Twenty-five percent is going to northern and southern India. Only 6 percent is coming to eastern and north-eastern states. He said that there is stiff competition in every field of life in the present world. When the foreign firms are interested in investing in India, they make a comparative study of all the states. In that race, some states stand little ahead and that is the most important matter. West Bengal stands behind. In this state, there is no mother industry nor large industry and the situation in this state is really strange. The chairman of NTPC alleged that as West Bengal cannot take more power, so they have to close the power generating unit. On the other hand, many industries in the state have to close their production four to five hours in the afternoon and evening due to power shortage. Mr. Rungta said, "It's a paradox". West Bengal does not have any shortage of manpower or skilled labor. In some fields of production, West Bengal's labourers are more skilled than Chinese labourers. Still West Bengal is lagging in industrialization. At a time, there was a big hue and cry in this state about the relation between the federal and state governments. Many investors stepped behind out of fear. In fact, it was a loss for the state. According to J.P. Chaudhuri, president of Indian Chamber of Commerce, in a democratic set up, CPM party theoretically should not have any roles in the working of the government. Some changes are seen in the party and specially in CITU. This change is the precondition of industrialization. The incidents of random closure are not there any more. The youth force in the state realized that rash politics would lead nowhere and is more true in the perspective of the Naxalite movement of the seventies. But industrialization has many problems. There is a lack of infrastructure. The conditions of the roads are bad. According to Samir Ghosh of BNCCI, the road maintenance services should be privatized. To Rushi Moody, the over all discipline in roads and transportation is extremely important. According to B.K. Agarwal, secretary general of ICC, nothing is too late. This effort for industrialization is good though it started late. The CPM party has to change its ideology. There is no way out. According to Rajib Kaul, senior vice president of Confederation of Indian Industries, not only Jyoti Basu, the other important leaders of CPM party like Buddhadev and Biman are in favor of speedy industrialization in West Bengal. Within couple of months, substantial investment will begin in West Bengal. The political situation is also appropriate. CPM is a cadre based party. Congress has

also support from grass-roots. For that reason, in spite of tremendous unemployment there will be no political explosion in West Bengal. There will never be any ethnic clash as happened in neighboring Assam. Kaul said, "Personally, I am feeling very bullish. I am looking forward." Like Rajib Kaul, the newly appointed chairman of WBIDC Mr Somnath Chatterjee is also looking forward. Recently, he pledged that within six months there would be a complete turnaround in the field of industry in West Bengal. According to Somnath, millions of dollars are coming to the state as investment. Now the countdown has begun. There is only one question. The clock will definitely not stop in the middle. This is a matter of anxiety. Before burning out, usually flames flash up and darkness envelops everywhere. Already, ten millions' people are unemployed in the state. The hopes, created by Jyoti Basu, Somnath and others in the name of industrialization have to fulfilled, otherwise there might be a chance for a real explosion.

In the night of the worship of Lakshmi, the Goddess of wealth, people have to stay awake. It is said that Goddess Lakshmi comes down to the homes of the sleepless families with the bag of fortune. In today's Bengal, nobody stays awake anymore and Lakshmi left Bengal and went to far away places. The time of Tagore and Company and the era of Alamohan Das have taken shelter in the pages of history. Bengali acquisition of wealth is now a matter of research work and it's reflection in the present day life of Bengali is seldom seen. The flight of capital is a naked reality in the economic life of this state. The large industrial groups one after another transferred their capital from this state to other states and shifted their business headquarters from Calcutta to the other cities of India. It will be wrong to assume that all the owners of these companies are Marwaris, Gujaratis or Sindhis, or in simple terms non-Bengalis. The Bengali industrialists are not staying behind to transfer capital from West Bengal. Their number can be counted on one's fingertips and they are the real pride of Bengal. Many of them are still existing in the picture in the unequal race with the non-Bengali industrialists. At the time of investment they also do not give priority to West Bengal and choose other states. The traditional Bengali utters with a deep sigh of frustration that Bengalis do not work in the interest of Bengal. Mr. Bijan Nag is known as the husband of Jyoti Basu's niece. But he has another identity which people sometimes forget. His company, IFB Industries manufactures the most modern washing machines which are so popular all over India. But his own company made large investments outside Bengal in northern and southern India. But IFB's chairman Bijan Nag does not agree that his company has moved out of Bengal at all. IFB's investment in northern and southern India was made for commercial reason only. In explaining this he said that investment was made on the basis of the sales market. The parts manufacturing units of that washing machine are located in northern and southern India. Naturally, IFB cannot afford to stay back. Bijan Nag strongly feels that the

tendency of taking out capital from Bengal is coming to an end. Due to the infrastructure problems and lack of work culture many investors are not interested in West Bengal. In this regard, Bijan thinks that the situation has changed and condition has improved. Capital will not leave Bengal, rather it will come in. He thinks that the possibility of industrialization in West Bengal is bright. He also thinks that the reflection of the interests and efforts of the top level leader of the ruling CPM party is seen in all levels. In reply to a question as to whether Jyoti Basu or Somnath Chatterjee will be able to go along with the party in their efforts for industrialization, Bijan Nag made the preceding comments.

British Capital Welcome

95AS0117C Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA in Bengali 15 Nov 94 p 4

[Editorial: "The Entry of British Industrialists"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Three hundred and four years ago, when a British trader anchored his merchant ship in the ghat of Sutanuti, probably nobody was there to welcome him. But three hundred and four years later, when a special flight carrying a group of front ranking British industrialists under the leadership of the British commerce minister landed at Dum Dum airport at one o'clock in the morning, the place was crowded by hundreds of local people. In the middle of the night, they were present there to welcome the foreign guests. This change of setting no doubt carries the message of a new era. Fifty-two years ago, the popular slogan of India was "British, quit India." Fifty-two years later, the arms of friendship are stretched toward the British industrialists. India seeks the cooperation of the foreigners for her industrial development. When the entrepreneurs of almost all the nations are invited, why not the British? It does not mean that after earning independence from colonial rule, this country had no connection with the British. The British investment was never negligible in the economic life of independent India. Recently, the volume of that was growing too fast. In fact, right now Britain tops the list of the foreign countries investing in India. Still, the arrival of British industrialists in a group in Calcutta is a remarkable event. Because, in the past the foreign nations invested in other parts of India. It is known now that the wind might blow toward the East. At last the British investors finally located Calcutta and West Bengal on the map of India. It cannot be forgotten that one day the seeds of British empire in India were sowed in this region of India. Once Calcutta was the "Second City" of the empire. The local people's warm reception indicated to the foreign guests that though those old days were gone, a new kind of relationship on the basis of the new situation could be constructed. There goes a saying that those who once suffered a lot become anxious very quickly. A question is raised in some circles as to whether the colonial raj might come back in a new shape. It is needless to say that this fear is absolutely meaningless. The simple fact is that the India

of the 17th and 18th century and the India of today are not the same. In those days, the ruling Mughul empire was disintegrating and local powers were exhausted in fighting among themselves. The incapable Nabwab of Bengal was a prey of domestic quarrel and conspiracy. The foreign adventurers took the advantage of the situation. Today, India has a powerful central government and in all respect India is a front ranking nation in the third world. In the last four decades the economic development might have been obstructed due to several reasons, but this vast country is getting ready today for speedy and extensive economic growth after passing the first stage of economic development. The country has been made free from controlling regulations. India has come forward today to take a more active part in world economy. At this moment, they should not be anxious but happy to think about the foreign investors in India. When the demand for foreign capital and technology is felt in many areas of the world, it is normal that there will be a competition to attract foreign investors. Many countries including China are doing that. Why should India be afraid of imaginary danger? Besides, the reality is that Indians are also competing in many countries in the fields of trade and industry. Some circles in India were hesitant to accept this reality. They were mainly the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the Marxist Communist Party (CPM). BJP is still shouting out nationalist slogans. The leadership of Jyoti Basu and his sincere effort helped the Marxist party to abandon their orthodox ideas and to accept the new era. The coming of the British industrialists to Calcutta and the warm reception offered by the state government proved this change of attitude.

Reevaluation of Kashmir Policy Urged

95AS0119C Jaipur RAJASTHAN PATRIKA in Hindi 15 Nov 94 p 6

[Article by Punam I Kaushish: "Now is the Time for India to Redefine its Kashmir Policy"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Even in the United Nations Pakistan had to accept defeat. After burning the mid-night oil and keeping fingers crossed with no clear prospects in sight, India's policy planners cannot be accused of having vision. Most of the officers working at south block [Indian Parliament Location] are amazed at the political victory they gained. It is very clear that Pakistan's stars are not favourable because the stars that she was counting on did not show up.

It is true that New Delhi has many reasons to be unhappy with Mrs. Benazir Bhutto. She has suffered two defeats in the last seven months. Her first defeat was in Geneva where the human rights conference was being organized. Her second defeat was in New York recently. In fact this defeat was in the United Nations which she considers familial territory. The Islamic card that Pakistan wanted to play for many weeks in the United Nations did not work in the end. She could not raise the Kashmir dispute

in front of the General Assembly in the international forum. This, despite the fact the whole issue was raised after discussions with the OIC (Organization of Islamic Countries) and giving full consideration to all arguments. Even then, India did not win because of its internal preparations but because of the outside conditions. The OIC was expected to introduce the resolution which did not happen. It also proved that there is a split among the Islamic countries and there is no unanimity on issues. The fact that many Islamic countries did not rise up in support of this resolution explains the situation fully. On the other hand the western nations were worried that this discussion would provide a platform to fundamentalist regimes and their own economic interests would be very badly affected. Apart from that India is considered a huge economic market that is readily waiting to accept the capitalist system. No doubt Mr. Khurshid and his coworkers did not leave any stone unturned to help the cause of Pakistan. According to the members of the connected delegations, these people (Pakistan Delegation) had given a presentation of the actual condition to the members of OIC before the Kashmir issue ever came up. During this presentation all kinds of pressures including the threat of economic sanctions was used to such an extent that all delegates of all countries received a personal letter which used adjectives that are seldom used in such circumstances. Delighted with his own success he had said he was happy because, with their efforts, at least they have been able to open people's minds! However all this could be managed only at the last minute. Delegates from the Islamic conference, raised their hands but the predrafted resolution failed anyway. India had already proposed a special meeting between the two countries, which was rejected summarily. The fact is that America (U.S.) was expected to play an important role but in the end its views became immaterial. Actually the reason for this was that the U.S. wanted to pacify Mrs. Benazir Bhutto. From this one can perceive that the U.S. is giving greater importance to Mrs. Bhutto compared to Mr. Nawaz Sharif and will probably go on having good relations with Pakistan. A serious situation has developed in Pakistan because of this failure. The Pakistan army has acted as the central broker till recently. It has made the administrative rules and politically it has remained within limits. Mrs. Bhutto is being accused of many things. The U.S. has neither upset India nor Pakistan. She (U.S) did advise Pakistan not to bring up this resolution at this time. In the end she left the matter to the representatives of the major powers in the United Nations. In fact even they advised against raising this issue at this time. The same position was taken by the Europeans. However, what made Mr. Khurshid's job easy was the new developments in the Gulf states. Actually it came as equations between Muslim nations change. Pakistan had built up its hopes upon these nations. The three major players among the Islamic nations, Iran, Saudi Arabia and Iraq all kept their independent approach and did not agree on any one nation's leadership. Therefore these nations did not give any importance to one another. As soon as

Saudi Arabia supported Pakistan, Indonesia and Iran supported the Indian stand. The reason for this was also evident. Many Gulf countries do not approve of the new political equation between Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. In fact Saudi Arabia has been the main assembly place for political activists from Pakistan for some years. [Passage omitted on Middle East politics] In this connection we can measure the success or failure of our foreign policy. It is possible that this time some right steps were taken, however, the lack of positive movement in establishing relations must be avoided at all costs. In regards to Kashmir, Pakistan has suffered a bad defeat and she has been forced to accept failure. Apart from that, Mrs. Bhutto's failure has already become an item of household conversation. Mr. Nawaz Sharif, the leader of the opposition is asking for her resignation. On the other hand unhappy with its own failure Pakistani Intelligence [ISI] is working on a new plan for the terrorists. Some new plan to create explosions like in Bombay is being worked on. Along with this they will also try to create tensions on the border. As it is becoming clear, Mrs. Bhutto is becoming politically weaker in spite of demonstrated American support. The terrorists in Kashmir must be very unhappy with Pakistan due to the defeat of this resolution. From the beginning Mr. Shabbir Shah has been asking for independence for Kashmir. Apart from that we can be forced to face some new fundamentalist threat which may not let us enjoy the advantage of our success in the UN. In short, New Delhi should remember not to sit quietly satisfied with sweet success. Pakistan will continue her struggle. This is the time when South Block should readjust its Kashmir policy. The battle is won but the war continues.

Mulayam Singh Attempts to Throttle Press Scored

New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 15 Nov 94 p 6

[Article by Nikhil Chakravarti: "This War is Against the Freedom of the Press"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Last Saturday the Uttar Pradesh [UP] ruling party's anti-press crusade became a month old. The ruling Samajwadi Party [SP] had initiated this with great pomp in its conference in Lucknow on October 12, and issued a call to arms against two widely circulated Hindi dailies, christening the crusade Hulla Bol. It is a matter of regret that the Chief Minister himself, by shamelessly starting this campaign against these two papers, has made a joke of all concepts relating to freedom of the press.

For some time incidents of violence against the press in many parts of the country have become routine; State governments have been throttling the democratic liaisons of press freedom by terrorizing and suppressing newspapers. In many cases such attacks have been sponsored by extremist organizations such as the Shiv Sena in Maharashtra, or even more seriously by the terrorists in

Punjab or due to the intolerance of ruling organizations in Tamil Nadu. But the most regretful aspect of the present situation in Uttar Pradesh is that not only has this been started by the ruling party itself, but also the State government itself has very proudly endorsed it. Mulayam Singh Yadav has openly expressed his threat to teach these two newspapers a lesson in every way. He has said, "All of you will see how I deal with these two newspapers within a month. All of you know that when I instigate a war, I take it to its ultimate conclusion." The Chief Minister has threatened, "I also have many other weapons."

The type of violence started in the Hulla Bol campaign is quite similar to that started by Punjab terrorists in Jalandhar against the Hind Samachar Patra group. [The campaign involves] stopping vehicles carrying newspapers, burning newspaper bundles and even destroying vehicles, attacking and terrorizing hawkers and snatching papers from them, attacking the offices and homes of local correspondents, and beating up reporters of related newspapers in public assemblies. Besides this, not only are the workers of the ruling party issuing open threats but so are ministers. Where and when Hulla Bol will begin has been openly announced on loudspeakers. Either the police was not present or if it was present it refused to interfere; the question of filing charges against the wrongdoers does not arise. The only difference between the intimidation by Punjab terrorists and Mulayam Singh's Hulla Bol is that here the Chief Minister himself is out on a hunt against those newspapers that he does not like. This case is even more dangerous, because this encourages the ruling party or government to silence all those who do not agree with them. What is happening in Uttar Pradesh today brings painful memories of the dark days of emergency rule when attempts were made to quell dissent via government interference and antisocial elements supported by the government.

The Samajwadis complain that these two newspapers are encouraging communalism. But here it is important to remember that freedom of the press assures complete freedom for dissent. If a newspaper encourages the tendency towards communal violence, the nation's law fully provides for action against this. In addition to direct administrative action, the government can repudiate such news and if the newspaper does not print this repudiation, the government can lodge a complaint with the Press Commission, as was done four years ago when exaggerated news items were published in connection with [Mulayam Singh Yadav-supported] police firing on Kar Sevaks [workers dedicated to Hindutva].

In the present situation, the Uttar Pradesh government has not taken advantage of the normal democratic procedures. There is no example of the papers refusing to publish government disclaimers. The truth is that the government did not feel the need to issue disclaimers. It is not necessary to agree with the tone and essence of what these two papers have published. But it is clear that

activities have occurred under Mulayam Singh Yadav's Hulla Bol [campaign] that are not in agreement with the law. The Chief Minister, instead of stopping Hulla Bol, instigated workers to break the law so that dissenting ideas could be throttled and those who run newspapers could be forced into silence. Besides this one must also note that Hulla Bol is not the result of incidental fury by some political elements against a few newspapers. Hulla Bol is an organized campaign in which ministers participate who are encouraged by the Chief Minister. In every way this is a planned attack on the freedom of the press. There is no scope for denying that the credit for this assault goes to the Chief Minister himself.

Politically Mulayam Singh Yadav must understand that what he has been doing is not the way to face the challenge of his opponents. The police violence against Uttarkhand agitators, which was the topic of comments and news published by these two newspapers, cannot be ignored by simply silencing newspapers. The Uttar Pradesh administration's assault in the Allahabad High Court courtyard has been rightly condemned by the Supreme Court. The suppression of Uttarkhand agitators in Muzaffarnagar by Uttar Pradesh police cannot win Mulayam Singh Yadav acclaim in any democratic society. Now his fresh campaign Hulla Bol is the next in the sequence of events in Allahabad and Muzaffarnagar. Perhaps the words of Jawaharlal Nehru are not relevant for the present Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, but millions in this country and in other countries consider him the builder of democratic India. When the Constitution of India was implemented in 1950, Nehru had said in a conference of newspaper editors: "According to me freedom of the press is not merely a prevalent slogan but it is a necessary condition for the democratic process. I have no doubt that even if the government dislikes the misuse of press freedom and even if it considers this dangerous, interference in the freedom of the press would be wrong. You cannot change anything by imposing restrictions. You can only suppress the people's ideas about some things, but then these spread even more as a hidden current. Therefore I am in favor of a completely free press even if this is accompanied by the dangers of misuse, rather than a controlled and suppressed press."

Now it is time that the entire society, which is connected via means of communication, raise its voice against these acts to suppress press freedom in Uttar Pradesh. Not only this, but the nation's democratic thinkers should step forward and condemn this dangerous Hulla Bol of the Mulayam rule and assure the restoration of democracy.

Dalai Lama Said Continued Thorn to Chinese Leaders

95AS0118A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 15 Nov 94 p 6

[Article by Ray Singh: "China is Still Terrified by the Dalai Lama"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The credit for erecting cut-out figures of leaders in India goes to South India, because 10-20 foot cut-outs of MGR and Jayalalitha were erected for the first time on every crossing in Madras. Now the primary political goal of cut-outs and posters is to remind people which leader and party they should vote for. In imitation of Indian practice, the erection of cut-outs and posters of the Dalai Lama in Tibet's capital Lhasa was initiated this summer. As soon as Tibet's Chinese officers saw the Dalai Lama's posters, they had them removed and burnt, and issued orders making it illegal to print, distribute or post any cut-outs, posters, photographs etc. of the Dalai Lama anywhere, and that anyone violating this order would be punished. It is true that so far publicity regarding the Dalai Lama has annoyed Chinese officials, but this was not made illegal on an official level. The Chinese government, by issuing orders against publicity regarding the Dalai Lama, has demonstrated that China's policy in Tibet has changed. The question is how and why did this change come about?

China has not officially said anything regarding a change in its policy in Tibet, but certain reasons can be seen if the issue is viewed broadly. The first reason is that only a few days ago the Dalai Lama announced that he would raise the demand for independence for Tibet. It should be remembered that until Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's trip to China, the Dalai Lama had maintained that if Tibet obtained autonomy even while remaining a part of China his goal would be satisfied. According to the Dalai Lama, independence for Tibet was not so important up until the point when he learned that neither Prime Minister Rao during his China visit nor the Chinese Prime Minister during his India visit talked about Tibet. The Dalai Lama after discussions in London announced that he would now work for Tibet's independence. This was interpreted to mean that the Dalai Lama has obtained support for Tibetan independence from British Prime Minister John Major and American President Bill Clinton during meetings with them, although officially nothing has been said in either London or Washington regarding this. China has understood that now America and Western countries, instead of discussing human rights in Tibet, wish to play a new game against China through the Dalai Lama on the issue of Tibet. It is clear that China has had to change its Tibet policy.

Prior to vice-president Narayanan's China visit the Dalai Lama, not himself but through supporters, conveyed to the vice-president that if he would raise the issue of Tibet during his China visit the Dalai Lama would not only be happy but grateful. The vice-president's agenda did not even list the Tibet issue, rather he was clearly told that his China visit was a goodwill visit, therefore he was not to raise any controversial issues during his talks. China has already announced that talks with the Dalai Lama can occur, and he can be allowed to visit China only if he abandons his demand for independence for Tibet. China's policy with

respect to Tibet is clear, and now India's policy is also equally clear, since neither does China wish to discuss Tibet with the Dalai Lama, nor does India wish to raise the issue of Tibet with China. What is the Dalai Lama to do? How long must he limit himself to only the Buddhist religion in Dharamsala?

As far as India is concerned, Prime Minister Rao is not in a position to raise the issue of Tibet with China in the near future. The Indo-China border problem has not been solved yet and no resolution is possible in the near future. In a way the Indo-China problem started with the Dalai Lama's escape from Tibet, taking refuge in India. The return of the Dalai Lama to Tibet could be very helpful in resolving the Indo-China problem, but China is more likely to be harmed than benefit from this, since the Dalai Lama would become a challenge to China on returning to Tibet. Considering this, the Chinese officers have declared it a crime to distribute or publicize the Dalai Lama's cut-outs, photographs, posters, etc.

The Dalai Lama's publicity has been declared illegal, but also the Chinese officers have made Tibetans in charge of action against the Dalai Lama. Officers from China's Han race do not touch or participate in any anti-Dalai Lama activities. The new generation of local Tibetans does not want that the Dalai Lama should return to Lhasa. According to Horg Kong daily MING PAO, China wants the Tibetans to forever forget the Dalai Lama because even the Dalai Lama's memory among Tibetans is a challenge for Chinese officers. According to a London institution Tibet Information Network, by making publicity relating to the Dalai Lama illegal China has made a joke of its own policy that claims that Tibet has complete religious freedom. TIBET DAILY, An English daily in China claims that the Dalai Lama is responsible for instability in Tibet. By awarding the 1989 Nobel peace prize to the Dalai Lama, Western countries have created a new problem for Tibet. According to the TIBET DAILY, Western countries wish to weaken China's communist party through the Dalai Lama, and want to hollow the roots of socialism. By awarding the Nobel prize to the Dalai Lama, Western countries want to hurt China's racial unity, divide the Chinese motherland and establish their control over Tibet.

According to the world's human rights organizations, 300 to 400 Tibetan political prisoners are currently in Tibet's jails, which including male and female renunciates. One female renunciate was jailed for an additional eight years because she sang a Tibetan song of independence. This August when the political commissar of Tibet's armed police visited Tibet, he ordered local Chinese officers to focus their activities on the Tibetan separatist struggle, and be ready to deal with any emergency situation. This means firstly that Chinese officers fear separatism by the Tibetan race in Tibet. Secondly it means that China is preparing to deal with an emergency situation in Tibet. Thirdly it means that Chinese leaders do not wish to repeat the history of the Tiananmen square incident in Tibet.

During the cultural revolution of the sixties and seventies Chinese officers destroyed Buddhist caves and temples in Tibet so that the Buddhist faith might be exterminated in Tibet, but this did not work. Now the Chinese government has started rebuilding Tibet's Buddhist temples and caves, and Tibetan lamas of the new generation are being trained in a new way. The Potala Palace of Tibet's capital Lhasa, once the Dalai Lama's headquarters, and considered the stronghold of the Buddhist religion, is now the favorite of the same Chinese officers. The rebuilding of Potala Palace is an important event in Tibetan history. According to Hong Kong Chinese-language daily MING PAO, the rebuilding of Lhasa's Potala Palace will have a 'constructive influence' on Tibetans. In other words, Chinese leaders, with the rebuilding of Potala Palace, wish to end the Dalai Lama's influence with this 'constructive influence.'

By proving itself the nurturer of the Buddhist religion, China wants to be considered by the world and especially by Southeast Asia, not anti-religious but a supporter of religion. In this context of religion China has overtaken India. A few years ago, in 1981, when Lama Gyalpa Karmappa, the 16th Buddhist Karmapa Lama of Sikkim's Rumtek temple died, efforts began to find his successor. According to Buddhist tradition a group was formed of the leading monks from some famous Buddhist temples and caves, to identify the child in whom the soul of the late Gyalpa Karmappa had entered. After searching for several years this group selected a 10 year old Chinese child; calling him a 'living Buddha', they declared him the successor to the 16th Buddhist Lama. In China, Panchen Lama immediately endorsed this announcement. How could the Dalai Lama stay behind? He also endorsed the selection of this Chinese child in 1992.

It is said that the Dalai Lama had thought that he would succeed in pleasing Chinese leaders by endorsing the selection of the Chinese child, and this would clear the path for his return to Lhasa. The Dalai Lama forgot that Chinese leaders are not ones to play children's games. Chinese leaders say that the Dalai Lama has endorsed the selection on a spiritual level and they are not concerned with this. Here it is important to note that when endorsing the selection the Dalai Lama never thought that due to Karmappa's status, the entire expense of raising this Chinese child and maintenance of Rumtek shrine would be borne by India - this now runs into not hundreds of thousands but millions of rupees - while this Chinese child would probably be loyal to China. When this ten year old Chinese child visited China after the announcement, the mayor of China's capital Beijing presented him with a color television set, two photo albums and incense. Thanking the mayor of Beijing, Karmappa said that he would study well and would always support China's communist party. This is wonderful - India will bear the child Karmappa's expenses but this child will always support China's communist party. This can be viewed as a clever chess move of Chinese strategy, in which India has lost in every way. If

China's new Tibet policy has begun with India's defeat, what will be the end? This is a matter for reflection.

Papers Report Continuing Danger in Punjab

Border 'A Hot Spot'

95AS0143A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 16 Nov 94 p 2

[Article by Dinesh Kumar: "Punjab Border Still a Hot Spot"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, November 15— The recovery of three AK-47 assault rifles, three Mausers, two .32 bore pistols and a rifle last October 4 in Fazilka sector of Ferozepur district of Punjab indicates that notwithstanding the return of peace to the state, Punjab's border with Pakistan still remains as a 'hot' spot.

The Punjab stretch of the Indo-Pak border is not only permanently fenced and lit at night, but the wire fencing is electrified during the night.

However, the scale of terrorist violence in Punjab till September this year has been near negligible with only four civilians killed against 75 alleged terrorists killed by security forces. In August and September, no civilian or terrorist was killed.

But a recently prepared confidential document by the Punjab police has cautioned that subversive activities by militants and their ideologues abroad continues to "pose serious problems to the peace and security environment in and outside Punjab."

The report which contains a comprehensive review of terrorist activities during September and part of October provides interesting details as to how militant and fundamentalist organisations abroad are seeking to revive terrorism in the state. The 84-page report has devoted more than 50 pages to the aspect of terrorist potential and subversive activities abroad. An assessment of the terrorist potential in the state lists the total number of wanted terrorists at 199 which includes 31 hardcore terrorists. Most of the hardcore terrorists belong to the Babbar Khalsa, the Khalistan Liberation Force and the Khalistan Commando Force. Most of the hardcore terrorists hail from the border and Patiala ranges.

While pointing out that important terrorist leaders camping in Pakistan were under pressure from the Inter Service Intelligence (ISI) Directorate to revive target oriented actions against persons in key positions and vital installations, the report mentions in detail how various factions of the International Sikh Youth Federation (ISYF) has been working on competitive lines. This has been made possible with these factions and their supportive organisations being able to raise massive funds through a strong grip maintained over a majority of the gurdwaras and other socio-religious groups in several countries abroad.

"Workers of the ISYF in Canada, the United States and European countries are presently the main financiers of various terrorist groups. Top functionaries of the ISYF factions are in touch with their associates in Pakistan on a day-to-day basis... and have been sending representatives for discussions with the ISI handlers," the report states. The memories of several top terrorists are being kept alive through "shaheedi smagams", conventions and seminars where family members of these militants, pro-militant intellectuals and human rights activists have been delivering pro-militant speeches. But more importantly, such functions have helped in fund-raising.

But of late, ISYF has shifted to recruiting militants by establishing contacts with their relatives in India and relatives of the slain and jailed militants. The report observes, "To train new recruits, the ISYF is working on a three-point strategy: (i) to send them to Pakistan for training, (ii) to send trained members in India for capsule training and (iii) to train expatriate youth in safe houses abroad. Each member has been assigned the task of selecting and training at least a dozen recruits."

The report claims that for purposes of indoctrination, the ISYF has plans to open schools and colleges in coordination with the management committees of gurdwaras currently engaged in fund collection. Besides, there has been an added thrust to forge an alliance with fundamentalist groups having strong bases in foreign countries for organising joint actions.

Observers in the state note that such reports may be partly motivated by the self-serving desire to boost the importance of the police forces. However, they concede, the unremitting hostility of Pakistan towards India manifested by the activity on the border provided little room for complacency.

Khalistan Proponents Activities

95AS0143B *Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English* 25 Nov 94 p 7

[Article by Ajay Bharadwaj: "Bid To Keep Khalistan Idea Alive"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Amritsar, November 24—Some hardcore Sikh fundamentalists settled abroad are trying to keep the concept of Khalistan alive long after militancy has been wiped out in Punjab.

The proponents of 'Khalistan' have been constantly sending provocative published material to panches and sarpanches in the border region. The publications, mostly in the form of leaflets, spew venom against Prime Minister Narasimha Rao, chief minister Beant Singh and director-general of police K.P.S. Gill and contain fake stories of human rights violations in the state. The facts in the leaflets are not only blatantly distorted, but are presented in a manner to project India as an anti-Sikh country.

The letters are generally in the form of an open letter addressed either to the Prime Minister or the chief minister. A large number of sarpanches are believed to have received such published material in their villages making it obvious that the agent provocateurs have their complete list.

Their propaganda is targeted at panches and sarpanches primarily because the state police have been maintaining close liaison with them to have a feel of the ground-level situation. By targeting the village leaders, the Khalistan proponents might be seeking to revive the anti-national feelings, said a senior police officer.

Another method, which the pro-Khalistan activists have been using, is to try and influence Sikh pilgrims visiting Pakistan to pray at the gurdwaras there. Invariably a group of pro-Khalistanis arrives in Pakistan around the same time in an attempt to "influence" the pilgrims from India.

According to a pilgrim, who was part of the Sikh jatha which returned from Pakistan on Tuesday, suspicious-looking people, presumably ISI agents, were in constant touch with the pilgrims, trying to find out from them the state of affairs in Punjab as also instigating them to "be brave and wage a renewed fight against the state."

The jatha members, numbering more than 2,200, were flooded with provocative published material in the form of books, magazines and leaflets. A book of poems, "Panthi," and a newly-started magazine, KHALISTAN TIMES, were among the most circulated publications among the jatha members who had gone to Pakistan on the occasion of Guru Nanak Dev's birth anniversary. The publications urged the Sikhs to donate liberally to keep alive the Khalistan movement.

The material was distributed on behalf of the "Council of Khalistan" headed by Gurmit Singh Aulakh, Akal Federation chief Narain Singh, chief of "Khalistan Liberation Army" (KLA) Kapur Singh Jamraund and chief of the Babbar Khalsa International Wadhawa Singh Babbar. In a letter addressed to the family members of militants killed by the police, the KLA chief sought to incite them against the police and not to get carried away by the "misleading propaganda of the government."

One of the leaflets referred to a meeting held in the United States by the "Council of Khalistan" in which Paramjit Singh Sekhon, a leading militant ideologue, was present. The meeting formulated a fresh strategy to "infuse a new life in the movement." It laid stress on maintaining close liaison with gurdwaras and raise finances for the purpose. It also suggested lending support to other divisive elements in Jammu and Kashmir, Nagaland and Assam and also to coordinate activities with them.

Senior police officers here, however, dismiss it as a "malicious propaganda" by elements who have got vested interests in keeping the Khalistan bogey alive.

"Such a campaign helps them get financial support for personal interests only. Their survival abroad depends only on keeping the Khalistan concept going even though they know their campaign has run out of steam," said officer.

Manipur PLA-Khalistan Council Ties

95AS0143C Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
16 Nov 94 p 5

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Imphal, Nov. 15—In a significant move, which might have far-reaching implications, the People's Liberation Army of Manipur has announced a tie-up with the Council of Khalistan.

The declaration was made through a Press communique issued by the Department of Communication and Publicity of the Revolutionary People's Front, the political wing of the PLA.

It was also revealed, through the release, that a letter to this effect was received by the president of the RPF.

The letter, addressed to Mr Irengbam Bharot alias Chareel, was signed by Mr Gurmit Singh Aulakh, the president of the USA-based Council of Khalistan.

It is said to have highlighted the need for maintaining friendly relationship and cooperation between the groups.

The communique was also accompanied by an appeal from the president of the council to all Sikh soldiers and officers serving in Manipur to put an end to oppression in the area.

He also asked them to follow the path of Mr Balbir Singh, the Central Reserve Police Force havildar who had killed three fellow CRPF men and subsequently joined the PLA last year.

This tie-up is possibly the result of meetings between representatives of the PLA and the council in Europe last year.

It might be recalled that the council had issued similar appeals on behalf of the Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland (Issac-Muivah).

Both the NSCN and the council are members of the Unrepresented Nations' and People's Organization at The Hague in the Netherlands.

It could be that the PLA is also seeking a similar membership status.

From the operational point of view it means that the PLA cadre would now be in a position to avail of the latest technology and expertise in explosives and weapons to which the Khalistanis have access too.

Tiwari Opposition to Mulayam Government Intensifies

95AS0118C New Delhi *JANSATTA* in Hindi 16 Nov 94
p 10

[Article by Shambhunath Shukla: "Narayan Dutt Takes his Case to the Streets, not the Mountains"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Narayan Dutt Tiwari's Satyagraha walk, which started on November 12 in the Khatima township of Uttar Pradesh's [UP] Nainital District ended yesterday in Muzaffarnagar. A total of about 150 people were grudgingly present in Khatima's post office to listen to him. The attitude of the mountain population towards Tiwari was not one of sympathy. Therefore most listeners were not very enthusiastic about the UP ex-Chief Minister's Satyagraha walk. But when after walking through villages and townships for two days, N.D. Tiwari reached Muzaffarnagar's Rampur junction, over 100,000 people had arrived to listen to him. All the surrounding roads from this junction to the Bypass crossing were crowded with people. This occurred at a time when it is difficult for farmers to spare time due to sugarcane cutting and sowing of the rabi crop.

Despite opposition from a Congress faction in Uttar Pradesh and despite the lack of resources, Narayan Dutt Tiwari, by gathering such a large number of people, has created a difficulty for the State government as well as the Congress high command. Mulayam Singh Yadav may brag that as long as the Central government is with him he does not care about Mr. Tiwari's opposition, but the crowd in Muzaffarnagar on the 14th in connection with the Satyagraha walk does indicate the increasing revulsion against Mr. Yadav among the State's population. The increasing inclination of Muslims towards Mr. Tiwari could also be a cause for concern for Mulayam Singh. In Bijnor District, N.D. Tiwari was welcomed by Muslims in most places in Sherkot, Dhampur, Vahtor and the town of Bijnor. Nasib Pathan's welcome gates had been erected at many places in the town of Bijnor. Akbar Ahmed Dumpy brought a procession of about fifty buses from Bareilly.

Similarly a procession of Sikhs had arrived from Kashipur, Bajpur, Jaspur and Gadarpur. Due to Mr. Tiwari's repeated discussion of the Pilibhit incident in Sikh majority areas, it was natural for Sikhs to accompany him in his walk. This attachment of minorities towards Mr. Tiwari is cause for surprise even for the Congress high command.

Congress chief and Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao's political advisor Jitendra Prasad, deputy chief of the Finance Commission K.C. Pant and Harish Rawat, who runs Uttarakhand politics from Delhi, are all strongly opposed to N.D. Tiwari. When last September 11 the Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee under N.D. Tiwari's chairmanship passed a resolution to withdraw support from the State's Mulayam government and to dismiss it, these leaders immediately became active. This resolution was termed an indirect attack by N.D. Tiwari on the Prime Minister. Sitaram Kesari and Rajesh Pilot began direct attacks on Mr. Tiwari in support of the Mulayam government. Bored, Mr. Tiwari resigned from the chairmanship of the Uttar Pradesh Congress. The high command did not accept the resignation, and Mr. Tiwari was trapped in a confusing situation. But this made firm the notion among Uttar

Pradesh Congress members that the Prime Minister does not want Congress to flourish in Uttar Pradesh. Congress members were therefore anxious to show their power. N.D. Tiwari's Satyagraha walk provided this opportunity, and they gave it their full strength. After Muzaffarnagar's Satyagraha walk, Mr. Tiwari will definitely become the leader of the anti-Prime Minister camp in Delhi.

Narayan Dutt Tiwari had been told that this Satyagraha walk was against the State government's suppression of the Uttarkhand people. It was hoped that the mountain people would participate in this Satyagraha walk in great numbers. But almost no mountain people were involved in this walk. Khatima and Muzaffarnagar were planned as important stops in this walk because Uttarakhand supporters had been fired on in these towns. In Khatima Mr. Tiwari even visited the homes of people killed in the firings. But since Mr. Tiwari is not in favor of a separate Uttarkhand State, the mountain people were not attracted to him. In Siripur Bichua near Khatima, a mountain dweller opposed Mr. Tiwari in a public gathering. When he visited the house of the late Pratap Singh Bisht in Jhankat, there was not a single mountain dweller in his procession.

But there was great enthusiasm with regard to Mr. Tiwari among the plains people. In Nanakmatra Gurudwara Sikh representatives appealed to him to have the Center investigate the issue of Sikh TADA [Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Act] prisoners in Pilibhit jail. Mr. Tiwari told them how the Pilibhit District officer did not even allow him to visit the District hospital where injured prisoners are being treated. Mr. Tiwari said that he would make an issue of the Pilibhit incident. The Sikhs were duly influenced by this.

It is a coincidence that Narayan Dutt Tiwari's Satyagraha walk started at a time when not only the State Congress members were angry about the Center ignoring them, but also the Uttar Pradesh public was irritated with the Chief Minister's communal prejudice and inefficient administration. This is why everyone assembled in Muzaffarnagar.

Both pillars of the Muzaffarnagar Congress were at hand to welcome Mr. Tiwari. Ex-Minister Hukum Singh was stationed at Rampur junction to welcome Mr. Tiwari while Sanjay Chauhan, son of ex-Deputy Chief Minister Chaudhari Narayan Singh was standing at Jansath Road with a crowd of 150 tractors. The entire town was jammed everywhere. The jam was only relieved when the Satyagraha walk ended in the evening at 5:30 p.m.

Congress is number four in Uttar Pradesh today. The power of the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP], Samajwadi Party [SP] and the Bahujan Samaj Party [BSP] in the legislative assembly is far greater. These parties have divided the people of the entire State into religious and ethnic slots. In such a situation the 100,000-strong crowd collected in Muzaffarnagar on Monday was certainly a

great surprise. Mr. Tiwari himself was filled with emotion because of this gathering. He had been quite discouraged by the mild welcome in Khatima on Saturday. His speeches reflected irritability. The next day had not brought much hope either. But when his procession left Jaspur on Monday morning, about 250 cars were with him. In Bijnor, hundreds of buses from other State Districts including Bareilly, Kanpur, Sitapur, etc. joined the procession. After Ganga barrage junction, buses and cars from Mawana, Hapur, Gulavathi and Bulandshahr also joined him.

This is why on reaching Muzaffarnagar Mr. Tiwari became so inspired that he demanded for the first time in his walk that the Mulayam Singh government be dismissed. Ajit Singh was not part of this event. But his supporters were present. Mr. Tiwari did not mention Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao as part of his family. He did say that the message from this walk would definitely reach Andhra and Karnataka.

Among the slogans shouted by inspired Congress members on stage, the main slogan was, "This time, N.D. Tiwari." Anyway, Narayan Dutt Tiwari has shown his strength to the Congress high command and the Mulayam government through this Satyagraha walk.

Papers Report on Satellite Developments

Conference on Remote Sensing

95AS0148A *Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English 19 Nov 94 p 9

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bangalore, Nov 18—Former Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) chairman and Space Commission member U.R. Rao said yesterday India will not give direct reception of data from the Indian remote-sensing (IRS) satellites to the neighbouring countries.

Addressing a news conference here, Mr Rao said: "We cannot allow others to command our satellite. It will lead to operational problems." He said India was, however, providing the IRS data to Nepal, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. There are no security restrictions in giving the data to Pakistan. "Pakistan has not expressed interest, that's all," he clarified.

Earlier speaking at the inauguration of the 15th Asian conference on remote sensing organised by the Asian Association for Remote Sensing here, Union Minister for Commerce and Planning Commission deputy chairman Pranab Mukherjee, said regional co-operative efforts needed to be further galvanised, restructured and significantly enhanced, so as to effectively promote the use of emerging technologies in remote-sensing.

Mr Mukherjee said real benefits from a rapidly developing technology like remote-sensing can be realised only if such interactions were scaled up. Remote-sensing technology was one of those very important elements of

space sciences which was gaining attention very fast for solving the needs of the common man.

Mr Mukherjee said for the past six years, with IRS-1A, and 1B on orbit, the remote-sensing technology and its applications with conventional methods adopted by operational sectors like agriculture, mines, oil, forest, water resources, fisheries had received a big boost in the conservation, monitoring, management and mapping adequately for natural resources.

Continued achievement of self-sufficiency in food and water resources in the wake of large population growth, demanded application of most optimal technologies for achieving sustainable development and remote-sensing is one of them, he added.

Delivering the presidential address, Mr Rao said the remote-sensing satellites because of their ability to provide synoptic repetitive imageries at frequent intervals have become the backbone for the management of natural resources, including agriculture, forestry, soil and coastal mapping, ocean resource development besides management of flood and drought.

Mr Rao stressed the need for initiating sustainable integrated development at each watershed level, which alone would increase the agricultural productivity for the growing population without compromising on ecological and environmental integrity.

He said there was a definite need to improve the decision-making mechanism and reduce the gap between large-scale application of space technology and the scientific discoveries being carried out, to effectively tackle the problems of the society.

Mr Rao said the need of the hour was to appeal to the developments in science and technology, in particular to the developments in space and bio-technology to improve the carrying capacity of the region on a sustainable basis.

Remote-sensing had come a long way in initiating sustainable and integrated development. The sustainable development strategy by remote-sensing adopted in six districts of the country had produced good results. "Barren lands in these districts today are producing two crops," he added.

In his inaugural address, governor Khurshed Alam Khan, said space scientists had a major role to play in developing local-specific strategies by which space inputs could be combined with socio-economic and cultural aspects which would alone lead to increased agricultural productivity.

Mr Khan said, while it was a fact that many developing countries in the Asia-Pacific region were using the benefits of space technology for transforming their societies, they were yet to find appropriate solutions to a number of common problems of the region.

He said there was a need for consolidating expertise available in the Asia-Pacific region. It is essential to have co-operation among nations so as to achieve global achievement especially with the new space-age vision of our planet being seen as a "global village," he added.

Plans, Studies Described

95AS0148B Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE in English 23 Nov 94 p 7

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Hyderabad, Nov. 22—The Government of India is contemplating commercial exploitation of the Polar Satellite Launch Vehicle and Geostationary Launch Vehicle besides catering to the needs of the country.

Speaking at the fourth Faraday Memorial Lecture at the B M Birla Science Centre here on Monday, the Chairman of the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO), Dr Krrishnaswami Kasturirangan, said negotiations were on with the developing countries and training programmes were being organised by the IRSO. However, Dr Kasturirangan did not elaborate.

Terming the launch of PSLV as a turning point in achieving self-reliance as far as space research is concerned, Dr Kasturirangan said after the PSLV-D3 flight in 1995, three PSLV flights—PSLV-C1, PSLV-C2, PSLV-C3—are being planned at the rate of one flight per year. The Government has approved a long-term plan for three more flights and it is also proposed to improve the PSLV payload to 1,000 kg progressively. The satellite payloads are launched in a modular way to exploit the indigenous launch capability to the hilt. Similarly, the INSAT-3 satellites, the next generation of communication satellites, are planned for a mass of 2,500 kg to be compatible with the GSLV.

Dr Kasturirangan said significant cost reductions can occur only when it is able to combine the aircraft technology and rocket technology concepts. Re-useability and payload fraction of the order of 10 per cent are some of the thrust areas of research among the space faring nations, he said.

New breakthroughs are required in the concept of combined cycle engines, advanced aerodynamics and computational fluid dynamics, new materials and efficient thermal management system. Strategies for such complex development need to be evolved nationally and pursued with sharing of resources and infrastructure. "Only with such a national perspective will we be able to harness the collective strength to meet the challenge and apply it effectively even for an eventual international collaborative effort," he said.

The ISRO has initiated studies and experiments in this area, he said and hoped that with these and development of cryo-engine, ISRO should be able to direct its serious attention for the development of transportation systems depending on the goals set for the space activities in the 21st century.

After demonstrating successfully the development and launch of the ASLV and PSLV missions, ISRO has set its target for assured launch services through PSLV in a short time. The GSLV development and its entry into the operational phase before the end of the century will ensure self-reliance for INSAT class of satellites. It will also pave way for the ISRO to compete as an equal partner at international level, Dr Kasturirangan added.

Earlier, he witnessed a 30-minute film 'Worlds in Collision', produced by the B M Birla Science Centre. The film is about the crash of Levy-Shoemaker comet into planet Jupiter, the most violent encounter humanity ever witnessed.

It also tells about the Tunguska event in Central Asia (Siberia), wherein a comet hit the earth burning down thousands of trees within a distance of 2,000 sq km in which the land was levelled to ground.

The programme is also about [how] the dinosaurs dominated earth and how the entire species vanished without a trace, probably after a comet hit the earth. It concludes by telling that if asteroids like Comet Swift-Tuttle can ever come close to earth, the mankind is intelligent enough to destroy it by using nuclear missiles.

Government Population Control Program Faulted

95AS0119B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 20 Nov 94 Supplement p 1

[Article by Suresh Pandit: "National Population Policy: How Ineffective, How Irrelevant"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The interrelationship between development and population growth has been a subject of controversy in national and international forums for the last few years. Increasing population in the developing countries has robbed social scientists of their sleep. In this, many thinkers believe that increasing population is the main road block in the development of the third world. What is amazing is that America and the western countries are more worried about the population problem and are using every medium available to inform the third world of the coming calamity. Impressed by their propaganda about the bleak future awaiting them, the governments of South Asia and Africa have drawn up many tough policies and quick yielding plans for the control of population.

In India the debate on population control has been divided between two groups. On the one side there are people with power who are occupying most top positions under whose direction scientists, social workers and population experts have prepared national population policy. These people believe that uncontrolled population growth does not let the fruits of development reach the common man. It is because of that reason that people's average standard of living is going down and the advantage of social services plan does not reach every

one. Increasing poverty, disease, hunger and unemployment are because of the increase in population. It is their belief that controlling population is the way to solve all these problems.

On the other side there are people who work for volunteer agencies, women's groups, independent thinkers, writers, journalists and social workers who denounce the government thinking and planning. They believe that the area of economic crisis in Asia and Africa supports eighty percent of the population of the world but they use only twenty percent of the resources available while western countries that support the remaining 20 percent of the population use 80 percent of the world's resources and create 80 percent of the pollution. Still it is in the third world where the Western media is beating the drums about pollution crisis. A child born in the United States will use resources that can be sufficient for 20 to 25 children born in the third world. Those resources are accumulated by exploiting the developing countries. Therefore the result is that the people living in the developing countries, even if their population increase goes down to zero, will have to be satisfied with only 20 percent of the resources of the world. The result will be that poverty, disease and hunger will never leave them. As long as this imbalance in resources continues, no population policy can be expected to succeed.

The development program in India has not been successful in creating social, or economic conditions suitable for the reduction of the birth rate. Distribution of agricultural land in this country is unequal and impossible to improve. No priorities have been set for industrial production. Unemployment and low wage employment is increasing every day. The meaning of all this is that our economic system and the social set up lays the foundation for inequality. But unfortunately these reasons, which are really responsible for our very high population growth, have been completely ignored in the [Indian Government's Annual] report. What makes one even more unhappy is the fact that this document not only refuses to consider the population growth as a natural result of development and economic policies but it makes fun of people who think so. It says "The propaganda for giving priority to linking the population (control) policies with the developmental policies is misleading. It is being said that the success of the first (Population Policies) necessarily depends upon the successful implementation of the second (Development policies)."

This report again emphasizes the need for health maintenance but apart from traditional care for the mother and the child it does not indicate any new initiatives. Even while discussing the women's health, the report, after saying that there is a need for an all encompassing approach to women's health, turns silent on the steps that are needed. It says that the number of people employed by the health services should be increased. However it does not say anything about the need to expand the primary health network, nor does it suggest a

new strategy for educating the health service workers to bring them in line with the changed times. Without learning anything from past experience, it emphasizes outer solutions for population control. Latest events also suggest that in spite of the reduction in the budget for health services, the budget for family planning is increasing every day. Between 1985 and 1990 the total budget for population control was Rs. 32 Billion. However in the budget for 1992-1993, the provision is for 10 billion Rupees for one year. The United Nations' family planning institution had provided \$ 5.2 million between 1985-1990. This amount has been raised to \$ 9 million for 1990-1995. This new foreign aid is coming on condition that the population increase will be reduced to 1.76 from present 2.1 meaning that the birth rate will go down from 30.5 per thousand to 26.7 per thousand. In order to achieve this target birth control methods must be used by 53 percent instead of the present 43.3 percent.

This report repeats the need for making women stronger but there is no mention as to where and how are they going to get the strength. Just like before, the process of distributing the family planning targets is being changed but what is difficult to understand is that the targets for population control and development are also as much important, they are being ignored. The education about these targets especially for girls, reduction of untimely death for children and their mothers along with family planning and birth control information can all be included in one program. We should not forget that longer life for children is invariably connected to the mother's health during pregnancy and timelapse between child births. Time lapse between two pregnancies makes a large difference whether the child stays alive. This is true everywhere but especially in places where health service availability is poor. Wherever the death rate for children is high couples tend to go for more children so that after all the losses they will end up with the optimum number they had wished for.

It seems this report is trying to avoid looking at the increasing poverty among women. In it is a justice system that treats men and women equally so they should be able to support themselves after getting the necessary training. The responsibility for family planning is not only on the woman but is a joint responsibility; all these platitudes have been pronounced. However, in the present social structure no effort is made to look at the women's condition in the society. The man is still the head of the household. It is with his guidance that most of the decisions about the family are taken. Women are held in this position mainly because of their need for safety. Their need for freedom comes at a lower priority. That is the reason that she has to yield to man's decision about the number of children. In this condition, to talk about the responsibility for family planning as a joint responsibility is an impossible dream and nothing more. Therefore as long as a complete plan for different families at different levels and their needs is not prepared, the concept for joint responsibility cannot be activated.

This report also states that the institutions under Panchayati Raj (Village councils) will also play a useful role. But there is not a word about the working tradition or limitations of these institutions. Political activists, social scientists and concerned citizens have all severely criticised the Panchayati Raj act after looking at its effects in different states. There are many questions about its economic and administrative capabilities. However, ignoring these points raised in the debate, (the report) still pins all its never to be fulfilled hopes on these institutions. It (the report) has not defined the interrelationship between the State, Municipality, Panchayat and the suggested new administration.

Similarly the report is silent about the new economic policy which encourages the concentration of the resources instead of distribution. It is evident that as long as the distribution possibilities are not integrated into this new policy, not much constructive work can be expected from the Panchayats. The report itself nullifies the recommendation when it says that the population control policy will be implemented through the centrally organized Population and Social Development Committee. It lays down no directions, no recommendations for how it will coordinate the dialogue with different levels of the administration and has no suggestions for acceptance or rejection criteria for its resolutions.

In spite of all these problems the report describes some other alternatives that are of course very disturbing. For example the report explores the possibility of revising the marriage age. Some draconian measures to implement the policy for small family. It also suggests that a small family must be a condition for getting a job or a promotion in the government. Taking a cue from Haryana and Rajasthan in Panchayat elections, it suggests disqualification of everyone with more than two living children. These suggestions are not only punitive but they are anti-democratic. Taking the example of these two states is even more unfortunate because the higher birthrate in these two states is mainly due to unequal status of men and women. This kind of provision will stop those young women who are politically more knowledgeable and communicate better than other women of the village. The reason is that these women are still young and have an active married life. They may give birth to a third child without wishing to. Actually this is an effort to stop young women from political activity. If she already has two female children the family will put pressure on her for a third child [hopefully male], on the other hand she will always be afraid of losing her seat in the panchayat by either losing the election or by having the election nullified because of the addition in the family. The report does not even clarify what will happen in case an elected woman who already has two children gives birth to a third child, will her election be cancelled? If such is the case what will happen to the 30 percent reservation for women? If a husband and wife both become parents of a third child, will they both lose their seats? Many such questions have not been answered by this report.

This report on one side is trying to show the bright future as desired by the people and on the other side also suggests a ceiling in the number of legislators in the legislative councils. Again this recommendation is not only anti-democratic but it also goes against the people's participation in the democracy. In place of such recommendations, if this report had spent some efforts trying to show a plan that every child goes to school, or that inhuman labor practices will be stopped, or how women will not be subjected to unfair discrimination in every day life, then it would have been received much better. [passage omitted]

Pakistani Air Marshal Statements Seen Inflammatory

95AS0120A Jalandhar PUNJAB KESARI in Hindi
20 Nov 94 p 6

[Editorial: "Listen to What Pakistani Air Marshal Noor Khan is Saying"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In the recent past when Pakistan utterly failed to raise the Kashmir issue, and to promote it as an international concern in the UN General Assembly simply because it was not able to induce enough support for it, in our article of November 12 titled, "Will Pakistan Learn From This Defeat," we had written:

"Pakistan should clearly understand that Kashmir is an inseparable part of India and raising the issue at the international level will simply compound the problem. In expressing support to continue the bilateral talks India had hoped that Pakistan would not endeavour to bring this issue for international consideration in the future and would seek resolution of mutual problems in bilateral talks. Pakistan should seriously consider to adhere to such routine, maintain a status quo on Kashmir issue, and should try to concentrate on the primary problems of its people and development of its country."

In any case, the leaders of Pakistan have never liked what India or Indians had to say. As far as the people of the two countries are concerned they both are alike.

Retired Air Marshal Noor Khan's September 23 interview with NAWA-I-WAQT also fully confirms our contention. For the benefit of our readers we are reproducing the entire interview here.

Air Marshal Noor Khan, when asked that under what circumstances the 1965 war was fought, and what instigated it, said, "in fact, the 1965 war was a mistake because any war unless fought for a prolonged period of time cannot succeed. Field Marshal Ayub Khan was a cautious and serious man but the officials of the foreign ministry had misinformed him that a war with India could be advantageous to the cause of Kashmir and [Pakistan] objectives be fulfilled."

He said that, "at that time, only the air force out of our entire armed forces was capable of facing India, and on the whole it stood well. The 1965 war proved to be a shaking experience for our military strength. In martial terms we cannot fight a long lasting war. We were so disgusted that the next day we appealed the Security Council to arrange for a cease fire. We had known that we cannot face India for a long time. A strong economy and stable internal condition are essential for national security, things that we did not have."

In response to a question about the 1971 war Air Marshal Noor Khan said that "it was a non-essential war. In my opinion the defence planning of Pakistan is weak whereas Indian armed strength has tremendously increased. We are a sick and weak country. Why would someone assist us? We cannot face India. Pakistan has fought every war with India without any use. It can have political aims but it had no military objectives meaning that there was no reason for these wars. India itself did not initiate any war."

When asked, should Pakistan let go the thoughts of its security and accept Indian sovereignty, he responded, "never, I am simply saying that Pakistan cannot fight a war with India without the support of a super power. Ayub Khan had realized his mistake in fighting the 1965 war and later it made him sick. The 1971 war was also non-essential. Because of America western Pakistan was saved."

According to him Pakistan neither has a policy on defence nor the capability to defend; "Each day sees Indian defence getting stronger and Pakistani defence weaker. In 1965 we started the war and right next day realized that we have exhausted ammunition supplies and lack manpower. Similar to East Pakistan's feelings after the 1965 war that they are not being properly defended, Karachi and Sind today exhibit the same feelings. This is not healthy for the unity and unison of the country."

Regarding Kashmir, Air Marshal Noor Khan says: "we have never helped it, on the contrary have always damaged it causes. We made a lot of noise, fought wars and have now exhausted our standing. We should pay attention to improve our economy, should bring political stability in the country, and only after that with patriotic feelings and strength of character, should talk about wars. Since 1947 Arabs have promised us assistance on the Kashmir issue but have they ever helped us, in fact, Pakistan is a poor country, why would someone help us?"

Air Marshal also regrets that "Pakistan, since the 1965 war has not yet laid the economic foundation. If we are not economically stable, we cannot endure a war and if cannot carry on a war, why then spend so much on defence? India has other superiorities, to them the question of war is only secondary. Relative to defence, today, Pakistan is a very weak country and our defence policy can only safeguard Punjab. He warned in clear terms that

if a war breaks out again, Pakistani losses will be heavier than what it sustained last time, Pakistan cannot win a war, and Pakistan is ruined economically. [passage omitted on NAWA-I-WAQT commentary]

We consider it essential, in the context of this interview, to mention that the Air Marshal has very honestly accepted that any war with India will only be detrimental to Pakistan. Prior to this occasion, several military officials and certain politicians had also advised the Pakistani rulers to exercise restraint in a conflict against India. In 1992, when the Jammu-Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) declared its intent to forcefully enter India by crossing the line of control, the Pakistani Chief of Armed Forces General Asif Nawaz Janjua, in a meeting of Pakistani army officials and commanders, had very clearly warned that the results of Kashmir Liberation Front's march could be fatal to Pakistan and it can result in a direct confrontation with India. We can never win a direct war against India.

General Asif Nawaz Janjua and prominent leaders like Khan Wali Khan had clearly warned that Pakistan should not play with this ball of fire and if Pakistan continues its policy of interfering in the internal affairs of India, it will be fatal. At that time Pakistani commanders had told the Pakistani rulers in no unclear terms that they are against entering into any clashes with India.

We understand that the amount of losses inflicted upon Pakistan in pursuing anti Indian policies and as a consequence the losses we have taken are penalties enough. If they (Pakistani rulers) do not listen to us, they should at least listen to the advice given to them by their own kind, should try to learn from the explicit harsh truth the Air Marshal has described, and should concentrate on understanding and solving the problems of their own people. It will be in their interest to divert the amount of resources they are spending on their defense for the uplift of their country. This will also relieve India of its worries permitting it to devote its energies on developmental projects. Pakistan had no danger from India in the past or will it have in the future. It is the Pakistani rulers, according to Air Marshal Noor Khan, who have initiated these wars and have caused losses to Pakistan.

Kashmiri Affairs Department Creation Praised

95AS0120B Jalandhar PUNJAB KESARI in Hindi
20 Nov 94 p 6

[Article by Gajnafar Bhatt: "The Fire in Kashmir Instigated by Pakistan is Still being fed by Pakistanis"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Jammu-Kashmir and the rest of the country has extended an open arms welcome to the decision of forming a separate department of Kashmiri affairs. Creation of such a department under the direct control of the prime minister indicates that these issues will be considered at the highest level. It also signifies an

end to all future conflicting signals in regard to state policies regarding Jammu and Kashmir.

Right from the day the state merged with the Indian union, Jammu-Kashmir related issues were given special attention. The fact that a portion of the state came under Pakistani control deserved the Indian prime minister's [Nehru] special attention. Pakistan's unsuccessful attempt in 1965 to gain control over the remainder of Kashmir and the decisive defeat of the Pakistani army in 1971 in the Bangladesh war had softened this issue. The Shimla agreement was considered the harbinger of a new era of peace and compassion in the subcontinent.

In fact, for a decade after the Shimla agreement, Kashmir did not require any unusual attention not accorded to other states by the Center. This condition changed in 1990 with Pakistan's intensification of shadow war in the state. For a few months the Minister for Railways George Fernandez was given the additional charge of Kashmiri affairs. His duty was to supplement the efforts of the home ministry and the governor to bring normalcy to the state. This experiment did not succeed and the minister of Kashmiri affairs was seen devising a parallel preamble for himself in New Delhi. This experiment was abandoned with the decline of the Rashtriya Morcha ministry.

Creation of a separate department for the Kashmiri affairs was in the making for the last few months. Since last year's Hazrat Bal incident, the prime minister has taken an increasing interest in the problems of the state. Pakistan was notably engaged in an effort to raise the Kashmir issue as an international problem before a meeting on the human rights held in Genoa. The foiled Pakistani effort in Genoa exposed its contentions. It was then, that the Center decided to hasten its efforts to bring normalcy and to reestablish a democratic government in the state. The prime minister dispatched a team of central secretaries under the leadership of K.R. Venugopal, a secretary in his office, to survey the conditions and to recommend ways to promote development in the state. The prime minister's office is closely studying the ways to implement the recommended planning schemes for over 140 million rupees advanced by the team of central secretaries.

To develop a consensus on the issues of the state, the prime minister has routinely conversed with the prominent national leaders. It was anticipated that the release of state leaders like S.A.S. Gilani, Abdul Gani Lone, Yaseen Malik, and Shabeer Shah will result in enhanced political activity.

It was only recently that the involvement of the prime minister's office in the issues of the state became apparent. Prior to the proposed Vidhan Sabha elections and in response to the demands of the National Congress for delivering a "political baggage", the discussions based on the seemingly conflicting speeches of the central leaders, the issue of creating a separate department has become unavoidable.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

All calculations indicate that the coming winter has fireworks in store. The militant organizations will oppose the government efforts to agitate the political process in the Kashmir valley. The insurgent supporters of Pakistan will also try to impede the work of the State Parsiman Commission scheduled for completion in late January.

Some hectic activity was also noted in the United Nations recently. Pakistan had hoped to gain some support for its resolution to continue Indo-Pak talks in regard to the last agreement on Jammu and Kashmir. This proposal naively appeals to the secretary general to intensely try for a lasting peace in southern Asia and asks him to see that the agenda of the 50th UN Convention includes an informal discussion on "Peace and Security" of southern Asia.

The proposed resolution was introduced by the Organization of the Islamic Conference! Only a few member countries of this organization were aware of the fact that, under the shadow of the secretary general, the aim of this proposal was in fact to make this an international issue and to keep the door open for a few years to debate it in the UN every year. The Pakistani newspapers would have welcomed it as a victory for Benazir Bhutto in the UN, who had offered the leadership of the Pakistani delegation to Nawaz Sharif. Nawaz Sharif declined the offer. Later, Nawabzada Nasrulla Khan was appointed as the leader of this delegation. Passage of this resolution would have kept the cold war and the industry of "Jehad" in Pakistan alive.

In its calculations, Pakistan has erroneously been reading the minds of the Kashmiri population. The people of the state are eagerly awaiting the return of the peace, peace which stands a better chance after the Vidhan Sabha elections. [passage omitted on Pakistani internal problems]

Center Extends Ban on Northeast Militants

95AS0147A Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 20 Nov 94 p 1

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, Nov. 19—The Centre today extended the ban on three main underground outfits, the Bodo Security Force, the United Liberation Front of Asom and the National Socialist Council of Nagaland, operating in the North-East, under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967, official sources said here, reports PTI and UNI.

The decision was taken at a meeting of the Union Cabinet here today in view of the disturbed conditions in the area.

The ban on the ULFA [United Liberation Front of Asom], which was scheduled to expire on November 26, was extended for a period of two years from the next day. The ban on the NSCN [National Socialist Council of

Nagaland (rebel group)] was also extended for two years from November 27. Both bans had been imposed on November 27, 1990.

Congress Party Squabbles in Madhya Pradesh Viewed

95AS0119A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 21 Nov 94 p 4

[Article by Pramod Bhargava: "Congress Fighting with Congress"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The decision made by [Madhya Pradesh] Congress president Mr. Parasram Bharadwaj in order to hide his own failures, in which the Congress party will not participate in the local or municipal elections, is already cutting the legs off Congress' local leadership. This suicidal decision has also pushed the Congress into the valley of darkness and indecision. This unfortunate incident has proven two things about Mr. Bharadwaj. Firstly; Mr. Bharadwaj is completely incapable of handling any decision that requires thought and determination for implementation. Secondly; he wants to remain totally indebted to the Shukla brothers and will remain a puppet in their hands. As long as this political incapability continues, Congress will be forced into many tests with forces of communalism and factionalism and in time these will become a major liability.

This suicidal decision is being defended as the recommendation of the Congress Working Committee [CWC] that was taken after agreement from them. In fact, those who have been playing games between the Congress high command and the Madhya Pradesh Congress, have for the last three months already divided the state Congress party into two opposite camps by taking away the state Congress President's position from Mr. Digvijay Singh. Those who play politics with the established interests must have kept the local elections in their mind. With the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] government in power, the moral of the Congress was very low. Credit for leading Congress from the depths of those days to legislative victory and then to the peak of success in the Panchayat polls and restoring the confidence of Congress in itself can only be given to Digvijay Singh and his brand of politics. The groups sitting in New Delhi, were of the opinion that as soon as the polluted air of their politics reached the state politics, the health of the state Congress would be affected. Only three months have passed and the bad results of their polluted air is apparent.

The state Congress committee could not establish unanimity in the selection of the candidates due to the behavior of Parasram Bharadwaj who behaved like an obedient follower of Mr. Shyamacharan Shukla due to the Shukla Brothers' difficult nature. For the first time in the history of Indian democracy, the party in power decided that as a party, it would not fight local elections. This internal wranglings and indecision has pushed the state Congress party into complete anarchy and

infighting. In this discouraging atmosphere the state Chief Minister had to issue a statement that said "With my heart full of unhappiness, I disassociate myself from the local and municipal elections in Madhya Pradesh."

Unfortunately, by issuing this statement and separating himself from the elections, the Chief Minister could neither keep intact the name of the Congress nor could he maintain his own successful image. It is a very big political defeat for the Chief Minister who has just completed one year and who is known as the leader of the party. After getting over his depression he told the press reporters that it was the failure of the whole Congress organization. To accept the responsibility for the mistake, no matter how little, in public is a demonstration of the chief minister's ability to forget and forgive what is bygone. It also shows a possible good omen for getting better organization in the state Congress party. However this omen will turn into a force only if and when Mr. Shyamacharan Shukla, leaving aside his prejudicial nature and his childish insistence, asks forgiveness from the whole Congress party for the decision not to fight the local election as a party. If brother Shyama does that, like an obedient follower, Mr. Parasram Bharadwaj will follow his footsteps. This is the only way to relieve Congress from chaotic reasoning and its bad effects.

It does not take long for Congress to come up with hollow reasoning for the mistake and they will claim that there were so many good candidates who wanted to fight the election for Congress that the party has decided to allow all of them. This is like falling in love with your own mistakes and trying to hide any defects or inabilities. The truth is now there are four Congress candidates for each seat, one official and three unofficial. Against them the BJP and other opposition parties have only one candidate. After this suicidal decision the BJP, which did not look united and vigorous before this decision, has been reinvigorated. The advantage of this infighting will go to the party that can establish its secular credentials. If such a force (secular) comes to power, it will make the people forget Congress and the party knows how much they want to.

This decision of Congress will also help those who in the name of religious revival are preaching religious bigotry and creating controversy in politics. If Congress does not overcome its disappointment and defeatist attitude, it will provide encouragement to forces for whom it has been sharpening its blades for years. The decision not to participate in the Panchayat elections was taken too late. The election commission had already approved the election symbols for the candidates and there was no time to take back the party symbols.

The interesting point is, those who got the party's official symbols will surely claim party allegiance. Even those who did not get the party's official symbol will also claim the same allegiance. Every candidate has the support of one or the other leader or group of the party. One can very well understand why voters are confused.

Life of Exiled Bangladeshi Writer Viewed

95AS0120C Jalandhar PUNJAB KESARI in Hindi
22 Nov 94 p 6

[Article by Anam Muresh: "In Sweden—Taslima Can Neither Come Out Openly, Nor Hide"]

[FBIS Translated Text] To avoid bloodthirsty fundamentalist Muslims, to save her life and to enjoy freedom, Taslima Nasreen fled Bangladesh for Sweden on August 10, 1994. With help from the organization of writers "Pen Club" and the former Swedish foreign minister Ms. Margaret Ugglas not only is she safe in Stockholm but to start a new life she has been awarded Tukolaski literary prize worth 150,000 Swedish Kroners (one U.S. dollar equals 7 Swedish Kroners). She received this award soon after her arrival in Sweden.

If Taslima had to hide for her life in Bangladesh, she also has to keep her whereabouts in Sweden secret.

Since her arrival in Stockholm, besides taking apart in a few meetings and public functions, she has stayed away from the public view. The reason advanced for this aloofness is that she is tired of giving explanations. The chairman of the "Pen Club" and the editor of the literary column *Expression* Mr. Gabi Glechman had provided such a rationale. Possibly he looks after Taslima's interests in Sweden. This correspondent had tried in vain to meet with Taslima soon after her arrival in Stockholm. Taslima had written to the organizers of a Stockholm seminar that with this correspondent and 17 others from other countries she wished to take part in the seminar. Later the seminar organizers responded that they have not received any rejoinder from Taslima. Several letters sent to the "Pen Club" also remained unanswered. During the fourth week of September this correspondent went to Stockholm, met the seminar organizers and enquired about Taslima. The organizers told that they themselves inquired about Taslima several times but were given to understand that Taslima was out of the country. They provided me Gabi's telephone number and address so that any seminar participant, if he so desires, could contact Taslima through him.

Many tried but without success. This correspondent also contacted several newspapers, press centers, press clubs and many other correspondents but no one could provide any information nor contact Taslima. In fact Swedish papers had not published anything about her yet. Her only interview was published in the *Expression* where Gabi works. It was rumored that Taslima had left for some other country. This correspondent had audience with over 40 other correspondents but could not trace Taslima. Everyone had known Gabi's telephone number as the only known contact point. Even Ms. Ugglas who was instrumental in bringing Taslima to Sweden was not able to meet Gabi.

The only source to contact Taslima was the telephone number to Gabi's *Expression* but repeated calls only brought one recorded message that Mr. Gabi is not

available now, please try later. Sometimes the message relayed that today Gabi is on leave and is out of Stockholm or Gabi is out of country and will return after a day or two.

Taslina, for whom the journalists were waiting for the past several hours, did not show up, instead; Gabi returned. After several rings the phone extension remained unanswered, and routine recorded messages were given. Also, Gabi did not return any calls.

In any case I continued my effort. Next day Gabi took questions from the correspondents but it was evident that correspondents were totally dissatisfied and some of them left during the meeting.

In handling the Taslima case, Gabi's personality appears to be a little mysterious. Once, this correspondent, upon Gabi's return from Frankfurt tried to meet with him and called his office. "Gabi will not return before 2 o'clock or he might return in one hour. Please call again" was the response. Upon calling later the response was that he was here a minute ago. Once due to confusion and tired of my many calls the operator connected me to Gabi. Gabi told me that at the time he was terribly busy and would prefer that I call him later.

I did not feel like wasting this rare opportunity, and asked him if it will be possible for him to arrange an audience with Taslima. Gabi responded by saying that he was busy at the moment and that it was not possible to arrange for a meeting at this instant but if I called after 15 minutes, he will try.

When I called Gabi after 15 minutes, I was told that it was not possible for him to arrange such a meeting with Taslima. She was busy and did not want to meet with anyone. I responded, "It is no use trying when she herself does not want to meet, but is it possible to see you in your capacity as the chairman of the 'Pen Club'?" He invited me to come back at 1 o'clock. Suspicious as I was with his prior behavior I decided to reach his office a little early. Arriving there at fifteen past twelve I was informed by an employee that Gabi was scheduled to leave at 12.30. At the time Gabi was in his office. He took me to his cabin.

He apologized that he was not able to arrange the desired meeting with Taslima. He also made it clear that he was not Taslima's secretary or her spokesman. He said that Taslima has a personality of her own and that she is not an image or a dream.

Repeating these words has become a habit with Gabi. During our meeting with him he received about 15 calls from correspondents desirous of meeting with Taslima. But with most of them Gabi did not speak. However, whomever he spoke with he said that Taslima cannot meet with anyone.

Gabi, however, upon being told that I was an Indian correspondent, assured me of arranging a meeting with Taslima. He told me that he may be able to arrange such

a meeting within next couple of hours. Subsequently in calling his office we were informed that Gabi is not available and finally the word came in that it is very difficult to see Taslima. This made us to deduce that after all it may not be that important to see her. The story of a meeting with Taslima does not now sound that interesting as the story of the efforts to arrange that meeting. It is surprising to think that in a country considered safe is Taslima's life safe? Why is it so difficult to meet with her there? People like Gabi are engrossed in an effort to protect her from fundamentalists, from the press and from her own fears. The people of the Indian subcontinent can now speculate that in running away from Bangladeshi fundamentalists she may have landed in the hands of people like Gabi in Sweden. Is it not that Gabi may be interested in exploiting her literary talent and may not want her to appear before the public? Perhaps Gabi does not intend to do so. He was however, in a position to arrange a 20 minute audience with her.

In the past also the correspondents have written many times about Taslima. They have also said that Taslima is entrapped in her own doing and she is engaged in an effort with help from Gabi, not to dilute her identity. Perhaps Taslima does not understand Gabi's game plan. It is possible it may have some truth in it and it is also possible that none of it may have any substance.

Singh Meets With Industrialists, GATT Discussed

95AS0145A Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
24 Nov 94 p 12

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, Nov. 23—The Finance Minister, Dr Manmohan Singh, today called on the Indian industry to strive hard to become an efficient and powerful player in the post-Uruguay Round world of a more competitive global economy.

In his second pre-Budget meeting with industrialists here today, Dr Singh said today and in the future, India had no option but to accept the logic of competition if it had to participate successfully in the comity of nations. [sentence as printed]

Outlining their problems and demands, the industrialists urged the Finance Minister to take immediate steps to curb the phenomenal fiscal deficit and rationalize duties in all sectors. In order to attract increased foreign exchange, they said, it was mandatory to provide an extremely developed and strong infrastructure sector. They said that the Government should concentrate its activities and invite the full fledged participation of the private sector in this regard. They also suggested the establishment of an Infrastructure Fund for the development of basic infrastructure facilities.

Their suggestions include:

- Containment of fiscal deficit along with stepping up of both public and private investment;

- Rationalization and reduction of corporate tax and capital gains tax;
- Amendment of the Companies Act and removal of other constraints for facilitating mergers and amalgamations;
- Relaxation of conditions for raising capital abroad through GDRs and Euro-issues;
- Reduction of State level duties and royalties on minerals and other products;
- Imposition of effective anti-dumping duties;
- Reduction of import duty on major intermediate goods;
- Relaxation of reservation for small scale industries to promote exports;
- Instruct the State Governments to remove procedural constraints and encourage greater private participation;
- Revival of Investment Allowance;
- A more rapid transition to a full-scale Value Added Tax system;
- Opening up of the insurance sector to foreign and domestic private entrants;
- Liberalize the remaining exchange control regulations more swiftly.

New Process for Extracting Metals Developed

95AS0146A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English 24 Nov 94 p 20

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bombay, November 23—A high-tech process for making solvents for extracting metals like uranium on a commercial scale has been developed in India. "The technology had been the monopoly of an American and a Japanese firm," Mr M.S. Raghavan, the managing director of Emmessar Chemical Industries, which developed the process, told *THE TIMES OF INDIA*.

"We are thus the third country in the world to have developed the technology indigenously and are setting up a manufacturing facility for the first time in India." The solvent is commonly known as Depha and the country's requirement of the solvent is being met entirely through imports," Mr Raghavan adds. "We are putting up a plant at Talaja with an installed capacity of 60 tonnes per year against a probable annual demand of 300 tonnes in the country. The Rs 1.6-crore project supported by the venture capital division of IDBI [International Development Bank of India] is expected [to] go on stream by December."

"Until recently none of these super speciality chemicals (to extract nuclear, refractory and rare earths and base metals like copper) was produced in the country indigenously," says C.K. Gupta, director, materials group at the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre, Bombay. "All the information on the preparation of these solvents remained proprietary. However, anticipating the demand we developed the technology in our research labs."

Ultra-pure metals produced by solvent extraction are used in avionics, composite materials and super special alloys. Besides being of a strategic importance to the country these are critical to the country's nuclear programme. Some experts say the technological prowess and related prosperity of a country can be measured by the level of consumption of these speciality solvents. By that token, a single plant in the United States, produces 60,000 tonnes of Depha per year as against the 60 tonnes produced by Emmessar in India. "However, with easy availability of the solvent novel uses and application are bound to grow," says Mr Raghavan. The benefit bestowed by the technology is that it makes the extraction of uranium possible currently lost as waste in phosphoric acid.

New Army Chief Takes Office, Talks With Newsmen

95AS0153A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English 24 Nov 94 p 13

[Unattributed article: "Army Chief Advocates Indigenisation"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, Nov 23. Chief of army staff General Shankar Roy Chowdhary today said his top priority would be to maintain the operational efficiency and fitness of the army.

"My philosophy will be that consistency is the essence of progress," he said while emphasising that the army will continue to uphold the safety, honour and integrity of the country against all foes.

"We have to continue to remain unbeatable," he observed while listing his other two priority areas to be improvement of the quality of life in the forces and ensuring that the army was able to extract maximum value for money so as to have "excellence with economy."

Talking to newsmen after formally assuming charge as the 18th army chief following a ceremonial guard of honour, Gen. Roy Chowdhary emphasised on the need for indigenisation. "We have to indigenise or perish," he stated emphatically. "I have worked with the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO). I am aware of their strengths and talents and also of the strong production base available in the country," he said adding that all this talent required to be effectively harnessed.

Asked to comment on the army's involvement in sensitive internal security duties, the army chief said: "Internal security is a bit of a misnomer. More than half of the internal security problems have external roots." When asked what the army could do to tackle the external roots, Gen. Roy Chowdhary replied that the task of the army lay within the national policy which meant handling external enemies if and when called upon to do so. "Our job is to tackle the problem as and when the contingency arises," he said.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

In reply to a question, Gen. Chowdhary said that he would be concentrating on human material and improving the quality of equipment for the soldiers. "We have the best (human material) in the world. There are very few armies in the world that have seen operations of the kind," he said, adding that quality of equipment involved money. "Technology is expensive. But we need to give our men something very good if not better than what is available in the world," he added.

He said that the answer to the army's failure to attract the best talent in the country lay outside the service.

Election Commission Recognizes Samata Party

95AS0141A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English 25 Nov 94 p 12

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, Nov 24—The election committee yesterday recognised the Samata Party as a national party. Led by George Fernandes, the party is a breakaway faction of the Janata Dal.

Chief election commissioner (CEC) T.N. Seshan held in his 14-paragraph order that the Samata Party was born of a split in the Janata Dal and the poll performance of its members in the Lok Sabha and state assemblies should be credit to it.

The CEC reserved the symbol of "flaming torch" for the party. It held that the Samata Party qualified for recognition in the states of Bihar, Orissa and Manipur and the Union territory of Lakshadweep under various paragraphs of the symbols order, 1968.

Paper Interviews Indian Official on IMF Board

95AS0142A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English 25 Nov 94 p 15

[Excerpts from interview with Mr Prabhakar R. Narvekar by Sanjaya Baru]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] *When Mr Michel Camdessus, managing director of the International Monetary Fund secured his board's approval to appoint three deputy managing directors, a historic event in Fund history since its managerial structure had not altered since 1949, there was all-round surprise that an Indian was to be one of them. For Mr Prabhakar R. Narvekar, 61, this was a fitting reward for a loyal 40-year tenure at the Fund.*

Born in Goa and educated there and in Bombay, where he graduated from Sydenham College of Commerce, Mr Narvekar went to Columbia University to secure a doctoral degree and joined the Fund's staff in 1954. Today he has the second longest record of service at the Fund. "I am told there is a lady in the IMF office in Germany who has been on the Fund's staff for longer than me," says Mr Narvekar proudly. "I am not sure if I should be called an Indian who is an international civil servant or an international civil servant who happens to be an Indian. All my professional life has been spent at the Fund."

Now on his first visit to India after his promotion, Mr Narvekar has had meetings with Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and Union finance minister Manmohan Singh. Expressing discomfort in meeting a journalist, Mr Narvekar says: "I am an old fashioned staff member. I am not used to the Fund's new philosophy of transparency and media friendliness, but I do think that Mr Camdessus has done a good thing asking all of us to be more accessible to the media."

As evidence of the Fund's new media-friendliness, Mr Narvekar met our economics editor, Sanjaya Baru. Excerpts from the interview:

[Baru] A former colleague of yours, Mr Lawrence Summers (now in the Clinton administration) has asked the Fund and the World Bank to be more transparent in their negotiations with member country governments. As an old Fund official how do you react to this demand?

[Narvekar] As a rule transparency helps. But there are certain issues which we just cannot discuss in the open with governments.

[Baru] What are these issues?

[Narvekar] For a long time budgetary issues were considered highly secretive. But now that has changed. Most governments now have a very open system of budget making. India, of course, still follows the British model of a very secretive process, but in the United States there is no such budget secrecy.

Exchange rate policy is another area where we find it necessary to maintain secrecy in our discussions. I think this is understandable. I think the idea that the Fund can go and press governments to be more transparent is not correct. There are limits to how much pressure we can exert. It is up to the governments to decide how transparent they want to be.

[Baru] What was the subject of your discussions with the prime minister and the finance minister.

[Narvekar] We did not focus our discussions on the budget situation. We discussed the economic situation and the policy issues that could help the budget later on.

[Baru] What is your assessment of the Indian economy today?

[Narvekar] It is certainly a vast change from the last time. I had a look at the Indian economy, which was in 1991. In terms of growth there has been no dramatic change. But in terms of the policy regime and the balance of payments situation there is a sea-change. I think the economy is beginning to respond to these changes. Certain policy issues remain to be addressed, like labour market reform. On the fiscal side, the progress has been better than what we had expected. Bringing the fiscal deficit down from 8.5 percent to 6 percent is not a mean achievement, though much of this has been done by the Central government. Now the state governments must also reduce their fiscal deficits.

The fundamental message of the Fund is that deficits cannot be sustained for long periods of time and this has to be brought down to manageable levels. I think the medium-term outlook for India is good.

I think there is a consensus in India about reducing the budget deficit and that this should be done both by tackling the expenditure and revenue side. Wasteful expenditures should be cut, but additional revenues will also have to be mobilised.

[Baru] What is your assessment of the external sector.

[Narvekar] I think the foreign exchange inflows have raised some problems in exchange rate and inflation management. If these large inflows are not properly utilised the rupee may come under pressure to appreciate. But if we want to avoid that, to preserve the competitiveness of exports, then we should avoid exchange rate appreciation and tackle the problem on the fiscal and trade policy side. But I think nothing should be done to discourage these inflows, it is better to be innovative in managing them.

[Baru] How do you compare India's adjustment programme with what is happening in China and Russia?

[Narvekar] Comparing with Russia is not really relevant. Their economic and political structure was completely different from ours. This is also true for China but I think it is possible to compare India with China. The Chinese began their programme much earlier and their starting point was superior. I think the Chinese have accomplished a great deal more than India, even under communism. Ultimately that system has collapsed in many ways, but they had achieved quite a lot even under that system.

I think what the Chinese have achieved in health and education is commendable. Since the reforms began, what they have achieved in industry and trade is dramatic. I think there is some degree of exaggeration in what they claim to have done in employment generation, export growth and so on, but on balance their effort is commendable.

Perhaps at no other time in history has the standard of living of such a large mass of population been raised so significantly in such a short period of time as China has done in the last 20 years. I think India can do the same by the end of the century—provided we can step up growth and reform the economy.

[Baru] The Indian reform programme has been criticised for not focussing adequately on the social sectors and investment in productive sectors and in human development have been charged with being cut due to the programme of fiscal adjustment. What is your view?

[Narvekar] I think investment in health and education is extremely important, both from an immediate welfare point of view and from that of long-term development.

To see well fed and healthy human beings is itself deeply satisfying. That is what strikes you in China.

For the Fund there has been a dilemma here. In the past when the Fund staff entered into a discussion with national governments on human development issues, going beyond exchange rate management and fiscal stabilisation, the national governments did not always like this. They did not want us to stray from fiscal policy and exchange rate policy. It was our fault too that we did not press them on these issues. But things have changed. We do not, however, have adequate expertise in the Fund to analyse these issues and advice governments. We are now asking the World Bank, which has greater expertise on development, to collaborate with us on this.

[Baru] The Fund has also been criticised for only disciplining developing countries and for its inability to influence the macroeconomic policies of the developed, G-7, economies. Can the Fund truly be called on "international" organisation at all?

[Narvekar] The Fund will always remain relevant to developing countries. I don't think we have been totally irrelevant to the G-7 economies. I have personally been involved in advising Japan. But it is certainly true that with the growth of private capital markets, the Fund's role has declined. I think even here, the Fund can play an active role in short-term management of capital flows. We have been able to strengthen our "surveillance" capability, under the Fund's article IV consultations, even in the case of the G-7 economies.

The Fund will have to accept a larger role in its management for East Asian economies, especially Japan. The Fund's structure will have to reflect the changing nature of the world economy.

[Baru] Are we closer to a compromise in the Interim Committee on augmenting Special Drawing Rights and extending the Systemic Transition Facility (the "SDR-STF package" that created a controversy at the IMF's annual meeting in Madrid in October). Will the package remain in tact or be split?

[Narvekar] I do not want to comment on that. The chairman of the Interim Committee and Mr Camdessus are working towards a compromise. Something should come out of that in the next few months. The Fund has not changed its position.

Spokesman Discusses Activities in UN

95AS0144A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English 25 Nov 94 p 25

[Article by Manoj Joshi: "India Shelves Motion on N-Talks"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, November 24—India has shelved a motion calling for the beginning of negotiations, early next year, of a universal treaty to completely rid the world of nuclear weapons. According

to a Ministry of External Affairs spokesperson, the resolution which was to be moved in the first committee of the United Nations general assembly, was held over last week because "the time was not appropriate."

However, diplomatic sources said the resolution was held over as a trade-off for not supporting the Pakistani resolution on Kashmir. "The lever used on India was the decision by Western bloc countries, led by the United States, not to support Pakistan's innocuous-sounding resolution on peace and security in South Asia," said a New Delhi-based diplomat. A spokesperson of the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi refused to comment on the issue.

In a related move, India abstained from a resolution calling for Morocco to act on its pledge to hold elections in the former colony of Spanish Sahara which is under its control. India has recognised the Saharwi Arab Democratic Republic and the Polisario Front there as the legitimate government, and has supported the resolution for the past several years. The current shift is reportedly linked to the Moroccan support in the Organisation of Islamic States (OIC) to check the Pakistani resolution on Kashmir.

A senior former diplomat speaking on the condition of anonymity said the country is being bled in having to abandon its important foreign policy positions. "How many issues will be trade off and for how long?" he asked. "Today it is our nuclear posture and principled anti-colonialism, tomorrow it could be something else," he noted observing that the biannual exercise of contesting Pakistani-backed resolutions in Geneva and New York are costing the country dear.

Insiders say that the cleverly-worded resolution on the elimination of nuclear weapons would have been "terribly uncomfortable" for the permanent five (P-5) of the United Nations—United States, Russia, U.K., France, China—who are the only declared nuclear-weapon powers in the world. These countries are hoping to wrap up their campaign for the indefinite extension of the non-proliferation treaty of 1967, without any basic changes, by mid-January 1995 when the penultimate "Prepcom" or preparatory conference for the main review conference later in the year is scheduled.

In his speech to the UN general assembly on October 21, minister of state for external affairs R.L. Bhatia, noted: "We have decided to introduce a new resolution in this committee, recommending that the subject of elimination of nuclear weapons be taken up with the utmost priority that it merits." A text of the resolution that was circulated to some countries noted that the Clinton-Rao and Yeltsin-Rao statements had referred to the challenges of non-proliferation and in line with this the Indian resolution urged the world community to begin negotiations in 1995 on a treaty that would ban nuclear weapons in the world."

The Indian resolution did not specify a time-frame but it did speak of beginning the negotiations for the ban in

1995. The P-5 have been arguing that article six of the treaty is sufficient promise that they will eventually eliminate nuclear weapons. However, non-nuclear weapon states, which view the treaty as discriminatory, say that this clause does not provide any time-frame and neither are the P-5 willing to give any additional assurances.

Last summer's Prepcom in Geneva showed clearly that many countries which had signed the NPT were not entirely comfortable with the idea of an indefinite extension of what is widely regarded as a discriminatory treaty. A resolution calling for a global treaty for the elimination of nuclear weapons, albeit minus a time-frame, on the eve of the penultimate Prepcom and the review conference both scheduled in New York next year would have "set the cat among the pigeons," according to an Indian disarmament specialist.

As a curious sidelight to this development was an Indian decision late last week to abstain from a Japanese resolution which read much like the Indian one, but which stated that the NPT was the "cornerstone of non-proliferation and ought to be strengthened." The Japanese measure called for leading nuclear weapon states to undertake progressive balanced reduction of weapons leading to their elimination.

A Japanese affairs specialist in New Delhi noted that the Japanese resolution reflected the dilution of the ruling coalition leader, the Socialist Party's posture on disarmament. The resolution was a move to divert attention from the possibility of the non-aligned group pressing a resolution based on the party's own suggestion that a reference be made to the International Court of Justice on the legality of nuclear weapons. The Japanese fearing an adverse reaction back home moved the resolution which in effect backed the NPT.

Analyst Scores Policy of Nuclear Deterrence

95AS0155A Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
25 Nov 94 p 8

[Article by Amar Zutshi: "Nuclear Strategy: India's Policy of Deterrence"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The trouble, if not the tragedy, with the Indian policy of nuclear deterrence is that it is not based on or backed by any credible operational strategy. Those who know confirm that no military or war fighting inputs have gone into the formulation of the Government policy.

Strategy is the art of relating military means to the ends of policy. It constitutes operational, technical, logistical, diplomatic and the societal components of the means to wage war to achieve policy objectives. All these elements have to be in harmony or else the policy will fail. Nuclear strategy is based on military doctrine and no such doctrine can be credible without the operational involvement of war fighting men from the Army and the Air Force who are directly and immediately involved in nuclear war fighting.

After the dissolution of the Policy Advisory Group (PAG) in 1987 an Informal Advisory Commission consisting of political executives, nuclear scientists and the so-called intelligence and foreign policy experts was set up by the Government to formulate Indian response to the mounting Western pressures on India to abide by the NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty] even through a regional regiment. No military professional or expert worth his salt has ever been associated with it.

Tactical Weapons

Nobody knows for certain the actual status of the Indian nuclear programme. One can only glean from various facts and figures and make an assessment of his own. Some eminent Indian strategists argue that the country should adhere to the third option of a non-weaponized minimum nuclear deterrence in the second strike mode shrouded, of course, in a policy of ambiguity. It is argued that cold laboratory testing of a nuclear device could meet such policy ends since lack of accuracy will not diminish the fear of a retaliatory strike damage. The concept of minimum deterrence, it is asserted does not necessitate training, trial or operational involvement of war fighting men. Such a line of thinking would also preclude any need for tactical nuclear weapons development.

Arising from these and various other calculations of a mind-set conditioned by Western pressures as much as by domestic political rivalries, it appears that the Indian policy-makers have veered round to this policy framework of non-weaponized nuclear deterrence in directing the country's nuclear programme. However, the alarming state of national insecurity brought about by the magnitude of multifaceted external threats and divisive internal disorders necessitate an objective evaluation of the country's nuclear policy among other related issues, possible within the constraints of these columns.

To start with, the concept of nuclear deterrence is based on the premise that States must possess both the capability to use the enormous destructive power for instant retaliation as well as the political will to do so in a crisis situation. Therefore, mere possession of fissile plutonium is not enough as long as the State does not possess "at the ready" nuclear weapons the way Sweden is reported to have. According to Western analysts, India is supposed to have stockpiled weapons grade plutonium for 50 nuclear bombs against 13 such bombs that Pakistan can make till now. Dr A.Q. Khan, the prime mover of Pakistan's nuclear programme stated in 1990 that "Pakistan could destroy India with five bombs while Pakistan could be destroyed by India with three bombs." In other words, far from settling for a minimum deterrence capability both Pakistan and India are actually expanding their nuclear arsenals. Without the option to test them, nuclear weapons are bound to be unreliable and more accident prone.

The theory of nuclear deterrence is premised on three postulates: (a) retaliatory strike should be instant; (b) the

weapons should be reliable for its destructive impact (detonable); (c) it should have credible accuracy and should be invulnerable. None of these parameters can be met by a non-weaponized nuclear strategy and hence such a policy of deterrence could prove disastrous in the face of an adversary who follows a well-knit policy of integrating military means to its policy ends at every stage of defence and security related foreign policy formulations.

The other attribute of the advocates of non-weaponized nuclear strategy to declare "a no first use" (NFU) option is equally flawed howsoever nice a gesture it may appear against nuclear devastation. A decision of NFU would actually weaken conventional deterrence, not strengthen it. President Clinton's recent rejection of the NFU is obviously borne out of similar logic. As regards the policy of nuclear ambiguity, it is equally slippery and unsound as it could result in an unintended and avoidable war out of miscalculations. Both the Indo-Pakistani wars of 1948 and 1965 arose out of grave miscalculations by Pakistan. For deterrence to be successful, it is essential that the attacker should know well in advance what disaster awaits for itself in retaliation.

Preventive War

Success of deterrence also depends on the rationality of the attacker and the threatened party especially the personality of their military commanders. If past Indo-Pakistani conflicts are any guide, both sides have conducted themselves fairly rationally by avoiding the hitting of civilian targets indiscriminately. But the ongoing naked threats of a nuclear war over Kashmir by Pakistani leadership bodes ill for the future. Such a provocative posture aggravated by incremental factors like the very intrusive and so far effective subversive "dirty tricks" of Pakistani Intelligence [ISI] could at some stage lead to a preventive war by a threatened and harassed nation in anticipation of hostilities. Once the war starts if could go to lengths not intended by the belligerents originally.

As to the Chinese nuclear challenge, it needs to be observed that while China could target Indian heartland using IRBMS, we cannot do the same with the Agni IRBM unless you visualize a scenario in which India could launch its Agni from Vietnam since both countries have close military links and have unresolved territorial disputes with China. If China could provide M11 missiles and missile technology to Pakistan, New Delhi has every right to reciprocate the act by offering Prithvi or Agni to Hanoi. Alternatively India will need an ICBM for deterrent capability vis-a-vis China.

Apart from its resistance to the discriminatory nature of the current international nuclear regime which legitimizes a few global power elites, Indian motivation for a nuclear deterrence stems from the Sino-Pak nuclear missile and military collusion and extra regional intervention in the Indian ocean especially by USA and

France. USA's persistent attempts to induct sophisticated weapons like F-16s, P-3C Orions, Harpoon missiles etc. in Pakistan and its 1971 USS Enterprise misadventure are grim reminders of threats to Indian security. The recently announced sale of Agosta French submarines to Pakistan has also to be viewed in the context of French objectives in the Indian Ocean.

Military Axis

Kashmir in reality is only a secondary motivating factor in determining Pakistani nuclear designs. The prime motivating factors behind Pakistan's nuclear ambitions appear to be twofold. First, it aims at undermining Indian conventional superiority and thereby tying it down from emerging as a major military power regionally and globally. The Pakistani analyst, Mr Mushaid Hussain, put it succinctly when he said that "by going nuclear we felt we have achieved a certain parity with India." Secondly, in terms of global ambitions Pakistan is vying with Iran for the leadership of the fundamentalist Islamic crusade in the probable future scenario of what the *Time* magazine once called the conflict of the "Cross versus the crescent." It should not be altogether surprising if China aligns with such a military axis not for any ideological symmetry but out of its own geopolitical calculations.

In the Indo-Pakistani context, the USA and some of its cohorts, while they are only willing to assist Pakistan to erode India's growing power and strength, they are equally alarmed at the prospects of Pakistan's fundamentalist ambitions. The irony of the situation is that while the American analysts recognize the compulsions of India and Pakistan for acquiring nuclear weapons, the Clinton administration blindly pursues its own foreign policy goals of nuclear monopoly under NPT by equating India and Pakistan in its ad nauseam repetition of "capping, freezing and ultimate elimination of nuclear weapons from the sub-continent." It fails to recognize that irrespective of what Pakistan may or may not do India cannot be treated as a client State.

Writs on Foreign Media Entry Go to Supreme Court

95AS0160A Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
25 Nov 94 p 6

[Unattributed article: "Writs on Foreign Media Entry Transferred to S.C."]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, Nov. 24.—The Supreme Court today transferred to itself writ petitions challenging the entry of foreign media into the country from Karnataka, Madras and Allahabad High Courts.

A Division Bench comprising the Chief Justice, Mr A.M. Ahmadi, and Mr Justice S.P. Bharucha, transferred the three petitions, which had been filed by the Ananda Bazar Group of Publications.

The court further ordered that the petitions filed hereafter in any High Court would stand stayed with them till the Supreme Court disposed of the writ petitions.

The court had transferred the petitions to itself to avoid multiplicity of proceedings and the possibility of a conflict of views and also because these writ petitions involved the same or similar questions of law, the judges observed in their order.

Mr F.S. Nariman, Mr Harish Salve, and Mr Shri Narain appeared on behalf of the petitioners.

The court also allowed the petition against the Allahabad High Court order refusing to implead the Patrika group as party to the petition.

Mr V.N. Subba Rao and others had filed the writ in Karnataka High Court, while Mr V. Shankaran had moved Madras High Court. Mr S.K. Garg had filed the writ in Allahabad High Court.

The writ petitions transferred today to the Supreme Court raise the following questions of law:

- Whether foreign newspapers can make use of local partners and seek the rights and privileges enjoyed by Indian citizens and guaranteed under the Constitution
- Whether foreign newspapers and news agencies, making use of local partners, can be permitted to register themselves under the Press and Registration of Books Act (1867)
- Whether permitting foreign newspapers/news media a free hand to publish their newspapers and magazines in India would violate the Fundamental Duties specified under Article 51A of the Constitution and whether such privileges, if accorded to foreign newspapers/news media would totally erode the values and culture of India and impinge and violate the object of the Press and Registration of Books Act
- Whether foreign newspapers can be permitted to register their titles/names under the Trade and Merchandise Marks Act (1958) in derogation of the provisions of the Press and Registration of Books Act
- Whether newspapers which are widely read and circulated in the country can be prohibited from publishing merely because some foreign newspaper is able to obtain an illegal and surreptitious registration of the name under the Trade and Merchandise Marks Act
- Whether foreign newspapers/magazines can be permitted to publish their newspapers/magazines in India, thus enabling a foreign culture to invade, swamp and destroy Indian culture
- Whether the Foreign Investment Promotion Board, the second respondent to the petitions, can permit the foreign newspapers and news media to publish newspapers and magazines in India in direct violation of the resolution of the Union Cabinet, passed in 1955

under the chairmanship of Jawaharlal Nehru, banning the entry of foreign newspapers and news agencies

And finally,

—Whether the Secretariat of Industrial Approvals can approve any collaboration between a foreign company and an Indian partner to print and publish newspapers and periodicals in India with the foreign company having a major shareholding and the foreign company having total control over the editors and reports and thus propagating their views through the conduit of an Indian partner.

Papers Report Developments in Kashmir

Rebels Reject Division

95AS0158A Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
26 Nov 94 p 6

[Unattributed article: "JKLF Rejects Pak Foreign Minister's Suggestion on J&K Division"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Srinagar, Nov. 25.—The outlawed Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) chief, Mohammad Yasin Malik, has rejected Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mr Assef Ahmad Ali's suggestion of dividing Jammu and Kashmir between India and Pakistan, reports UNI [United News of India].

Talking to a select group of mediapersons here last evening, Mr Malik said his organization respected the ethnic aspirations of all races and regions and there could not be a division of the State.

In reply to a question, Mr Malik said: "If the people of Jammu, Ladakh and Pakistan-occupied Kashmir want that a referendum should be held in their regions we have no objection."

"We cannot force a solution on the people as it is they who have to decide the future of Jammu and Kashmir," he said.

He attributed the sudden change in the Pakistani stand to the mounting pressure from the international community and India to solve the "Kashmir dispute."

In another development, the "united front," formed recently by prominent militant outfits, has decided to lift the 45-day ban on two leading Urdu dailies *Srinagar Times* and *Alsafa*.

The front, however, asked the editors of these dailies to observe a fast for three days for "expiation of their sin" in publishing a notification about revision of electoral rolls in their papers last month.

Another report adds from Jammu: The Jammu and Kashmir Basic Rights Protection Committee has found that the provisions of the Army Special Powers Act and the Disturbed Areas Act, in respect of effecting arrests, were being violated in the Kashmir Valley.

The committee headed by Justice (retd.) Mufti Bahauddin Farooq in its interim report said the conditions in the jails were unsatisfactory. Besides overcrowding, the availability of adequate rations, medical assistance, power and water were "dismally poor."

Early Elections Ruled Out

95AS0158B Hyderabad *DECCAN CHRONICLE* in English
26 Nov 94 p 6

[Unattributed article: "Gen. Rao Rules Out Early Polls in J&K"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Srinagar, Nov. 25 (UNI): Jammu and Kashmir Governor Gen. K.V. Krishna Rao has hinted that elections in the State will not be held in the near future.

Talking to a group of newsmen from Delhi, the Governor said that "we should not rush through. A conducive atmosphere for elections has to be created first."

"We should not do anything that might prove counter productive as we saw in 1989," Gen. Rao said.

In 1989 Parliamentary election only five to 10 per cent voters in the Valley had exercised their franchise.

He said there are also some legal hitches in holding the elections in the State. Writ petitions are pending regarding delimitation work and revival of Assembly, which was dissolved by the former Governor, Mr Jagmohan, in 1990.

He made it clear that additional security forces are being inducted to completely crush militancy in the Valley. Unless militants surrender or the Valley is fully covered by the security forces, it is difficult to revive democracy in the State, Gen. Rao said.

The Governor claimed that security forces had broken the backbone of militants.

The Governor, however, refused to give any time frame for holding the elections.

Tohra Reelected Chief of Gurudwara Prabhandak

95AS0159A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English
26 Nov 94 p 15

[Unattributed article: "Tohra Re-elected SGPC Chief"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Amritsar, November 25.—Gurcharan Singh Tohra, president of the Gurudwara Prabhandak Committee (SGPC) for 19 years, reaffirmed his supremacy in the organisation by wresting the post once again today. He defeated his opponent, Prem Singh Lalpura of the Akali Dal (Badal) faction, by a margin of 38 votes.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

In the SGPC general house of 95 members, Mr Tohra polled 66 votes and Mr Lalpura 28, with one ballot paper being rejected.

Since Mr Tohra was conducting the proceedings, he proclaimed his own victory amid slogans of *Bole so nihai*. As a goodwill gesture, he agreed to admit three members of the Badal faction in the 11-member executive announced later. Mr Balbir Singh and Mr Bhajan Singh were nominated as vice-presidents and Mr Darshan Singh Issapur was appointed general secretary.

All the 95 members of the general house, including those from other states, were present for the election indicating that the two factions were taking no chances. Two ailing members, Sant Jagat Singh and Kesar Singh, were brought on stretchers.

The proceedings started after Golden Temple head priest Bhai Mohan Singh performed a "paath" of Guru Granth Sahib in the presence of acting jathedar of the Akal Takht Manjit Singh and four other head priests.

Jagdev Singh Talwandi, former president of the Akali Dal (Talwandi), who had withdrawn from the contest last year, proposed Mr Tohra's name which was seconded by Baldev Singh Sibia, former SGPC president. Mr Lalpura's name was proposed by Kuldip Singh Wadala and seconded by Major Singh Uboke, former acting president of the SGPC.

The votes were cast by secret ballot. Mr Lalpura's supporters demanded that Mukhtiar Singh, a member, be given the right to vote since his suspension was stayed by the Punjab and Haryana high court today. He was suspended yesterday by the judicial commission on charges of irregularities. Mr Tohra overruled the proposal since there was no official confirmation of the high court stay.

ISI Said Behind Widespread Terror, Violence

Power, Influence Increasing

95AS01374 New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 27 Nov 94 p 1

[Article by Priyaranjan Bharati: "In This Way, The Net of ISI is Spread"]

[EBIS Translated Text] The Pakistani government, in working to destabilise India, is working on three levels: It is raising the Kashmir issue at the international level, inciting neighboring countries including Bangladesh, and working through its own spy agency Inter-Services Intelligence [ISI] in the troubled and sensitive border regions by giving aid to rebels spreading terrorism. What is amazing is that an agent of ISI, Ahmed Umar Sheikh Saeed or Ameer was active in New Delhi itself under the name of Rohit Sharma with British citizenship. The government traced his movements only after he had arranged the kidnapping of three British citizens Mr. Patrick, Mr. Christopher and Mr. Paul Benjamin who were kidnapped from Uttar Pradesh [UP]. Ameer is a

member of a Kashmiri terrorist group called 'Harkat-ul-Ansar' and he along with the district president of Harkat-ul-Ansar Mr. Mohammed Nazir had worked out a scheme to kidnap the British citizens, while staying in the capital. The arrest of a Pakistani spy in New Delhi is not a new event here. The Delhi police superintendent can not be unaware of terrorists like Ameer and Mohammed Nazir, when on June 25, 1991, a bomb had gone off at the New Delhi airport and in the same year in September we had found connections between people who planted the bomb in the air India Boeing 747 plane to London and New York and the Pakistani spy agency. ISI was also involved in the bomb explosions in New Delhi and in the attack on the planes with shoulder fired missiles. Now ISI is busy trying to get a leg up in Uttarkhand [Mountain area of Uttar Pradesh] also. It is mentioned in a secret memo sent to the home ministry that Pakistani spies are active in Merath, Devaband and Saharanpur districts. The Indian police had arrested a member of this group near the Nepal border. This was concerning the stolen Maruti cars from Mussourie, Dehra Doon and other districts of Uttar Pradesh. That group has been selling cars stolen from this area into Nepal for some time. The government report also mentions the name of Nepalese Member of Parliament Mr. Dilshad Beg. It is mentioned that he buys stolen cars from those members of the group who have been caught, and sells them back, after changing their number plates to those who are active in the agitation. The report also mentioned that Mr. Dilshad Beg is busy trying to contact everyone involved with the agitation for Uttarkhand through his agents. According to the report, the Pakistani spy agency (ISI) is also busy trying to spread its contacts throughout Uttarkhand but has not succeeded till now. The intelligence report also suggests that after failing to carry out its mission, the ISI will try to get the younger agitators to commit terrorist acts so that the whole atmosphere becomes poisoned like in the Kashmir valley. The Pakistani secret agency (ISI) is also making up new slogans for the Zarkhand agitators in Northern Bihar. It is a different matter that the Pakistani agency has not been successful due to geographic and social circumstances. However, the home ministry has been informed that in the Zarkhand area the ISI is busy trying to lure younger agitators and to convert the movement into a terrorist agitation. In Bihar there are many areas where the ISI has been fully active. Chandanwada city in Nepal border district Dhaka is going to have a university financed with Rs. 1.38 billion called Jamia-in- Timia which is an indication of their increasing strength. This university will be a hiding place for Pakistani agents in Nepal. Persons caught after the explosion in a cinema theater that came right after the bomb explosions in Bombay, have already informed us that the Pakistani agents had imported 38 Kilograms of explosive RDX for terrorizing Bihar. However, they could not succeed in their intentions due to then existing circumstances. The chief minister of Bihar cannot control these anti-national elements. This is due to the vote bank politics. The central government is playing it as if it does not know

anything. One is not amazed at the arrest of the Punch district president of 'Harkat-ul-Ansar' Mohammed Nazir. The police have been arresting dozens of Nazirs every day. Fighting a last ditch battle in Kashmir, the ISI is helping Pakistan fight in all different ways. Recently a video cassette was found in possession of two terrorists caught in the international border town of Madaan that showed an example of gruesome behavior. In order to raise the Kashmir issue, in front of the United Nations in the international forum, the ISI has prepared many such visual aids to carry out its propaganda against India. In the video cassette Kashmiri militants dressed as Indian military were shown raping Kashmiri women. In the same cassette the ISI has tried to show many false terror camps (purportedly run by the Indian side) so that it can continue its media campaign against India. It has been found from the arrested terrorists that this cassette was planned by the ISI when India and Pakistan were involved in the controversy at the United Nations. The intent of the cassette was to increase the propaganda against India in the international forum. The problem is our home ministry is caught trying to solve internal turf battles and such cassettes are being prepared despite the defense of India act and the presence of the bureaucracy. The path of the Madaan center is still open and if the ISI is increasing its activities even further, our government has sole responsibility. The ISI has been successful in establishing complete control over almost all the terrorist groups active in the Kashmir valley. An investigative committee of the United States Congress has issued a report acknowledging the success of the ISI in this matter. It (The ISI) is also successful in combining many smaller Islamic groups. Major Haider of ISI has been able to combine them all into a purposeful Group for United Action. The investigative committee also believes that a large cache of latest military equipment was sent to Kashmir in the end of 1992 with a view to foment trouble within India. It is their estimate that almost 25 thousand AK 47 rifles are in the hands of the terrorists in Kashmir. The government should have been ready for just such an action is very clearly laid out in a book published by Retired Major General K.K.Nanda. In the book major general Nanda writes that ISI is engaged in carrying out 'Operation Topac', a name given to the three part action plan for the 'liberation' of Kashmir. This name was selected after the name of prince Topac Emru. In the eighteenth century prince Topac was involved in an unconventional war of liberation for Uruguay against the Spanish rule. Operation Topac was planned by the then president Zia Ul Haq in 1988. This was after the failure of 'Operation Gibraltar'. At present the plan is in its second stage where the whole of Kashmir will be involved with a view to terrorize the state. However, in India, the ISI does not aim for Kashmir only. It is planning not only to liberate Kashmir but also to promote terrorist activities and destroy the national integrity of India. ISI was started with the aim of bringing harm to India. Started by the second military regime, this spy agency became much more effective in the time of Major General Hamid Gull. The Bank of

Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) is its main financial backer. The branches of BCCI, like the tentacles (of an octopus), are spread out all over the country and even in the financial markets the agency has established its hold. Recently when a fake currency scandal was found in existence in some states, it was finally discovered that the ISI has created a whole underground market for fake currency notes in India. According to intelligence reports available to the home ministry, this Pakistani secret agency has been able to establish a complete network of agents in the eastern sectors. ISI has started education camps near the border of Bangladesh called 'Code of Anarchy'. In these camps, the principal members of all the separatist groups of the northeastern states, which are known as the 'United Liberation Front Of Seven Sisters' [ULFOSS], are being trained with the latest military equipment and its use in terrorist activities. This organization consists of the National Security Council of Nagaland [NSCN], PLT, People's Liberation Army [PLA], United Liberation Front of Assam [ULFA], Indo Security Force [BSF], North East Students Organization [NESO] and many other groups are also included. These education camps and other instructions are transmitted through the Indian service agencies using Indian transmitters to and from Lahore where ISI headquarters is located. Their internal reports are the main source of information for the Indian Government. This operation has only one aim: to destabilise the north-eastern border region by spreading fundamentalist religious feelings. Many of these organizations have already become an instrument in the hands of ISI when they participated in the all day strike in the northeast region called by [NESO]. ISI, on the one hand, is encouraging the regional feelings while on the other hand it supports religious fundamentalist feelings and spreads dissatisfaction. Mr. Shamsul Haq, the secretary of the State government of Assam is the chief defender of ISI in that area. The general secretary of the Gauhati City Congress Committee Mr. Tpacit Kalita who has been arrested under the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Act [TADA] is an ULFA supporter and is being criticised for it. The chief minister of Nagaland recently declared that the principal reason for the problems in the Northeastern states lies in foreign influences based in Assam. However, not only the state government of Mr. Hiteswar Saikia but also Mr. Rao's central government is insisting that no foreign operators are being supported. However their intent becomes clearer every day as one looks at the voter registration records. The mass killings of Barpeta have brought to light the connection between Bodo security force and the ISI as well as their supporter state government. In Barpeta, Bougoi as well as in many districts of lower Assam the ISI has been running education camps by the name of Muslim Volunteer Force and the Bodo Security Force. This is public knowledge. ISI has been strengthening its grip on Tripura, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland also. It is a matter of fact that Pakistan has been able to destabilise most of India through its spy agency. In the international sphere they are trying to break the Indian will through the

Kashmir issue. But the Indian government or leaders are not able to pay attention to its bad intentions because of their own political weaknesses.

Infamous Past, Active Present

95AS0137B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 27 Nov 94
p 1

[Article by Sunil Sharma: "This Secret Agency's Name is Infamous"]

[FBIS Translated Text] This is a story from 1988. Brigadier Jahirul Islam Abbasi was working in the Pakistan embassy as a political officer in New Delhi. He was caught spying, red handed, by the Indian intelligence agents trying to obtain some important Indian defense documents. He had set up a personal network of contacts in spite of Indian intelligence keeping a close eye on his movements. He was using his Indian contacts for spying. However, in the end he could not escape the sharp eyes of Indian intelligence which was after him for some time. Mr. Abbasi was using the students from Jawaharlal Nehru University, students and professors from Delhi University, many industrialists, trading houses, government officers, defense officers etc. for his own spy projects. They were all collecting secret information and orders for Pakistan. Mostly he was successful using some personal favors and financial incentives to break their nationalist leanings and love for their country. Many five star hotels in New Delhi used to keep one special room reserved for Mr. Abbasi where he used to meet his Indian contacts. Mr. Abbasi and Mr. Mohammed Khan Khatib, an officer of the Pakistan embassy, were caught red handed while they were in the process of buying some secret Indian documents giving thousands of rupees to their Indian agents. Mr. Abbasi was given a light sentence and was ordered out of India. After this incident, many more spies working with a vengeance for this secret agency, were caught and sent back to Pakistan. However, ISI did not call a halt to its activities. Field Marshal Ayub Khan, the president of Pakistan in the fifties had set up the ISI to safeguard Pakistan's interests and to keep an eye on the opposition politicians. In the beginning this organization was involved in spying for General Ayub Khan. ISI has played a significant role in keeping the military rule in Pakistan, destroying any demand for democracy from the people and keeping tabs on the leaders of the opposition. Former prime minister of Pakistan Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto gave an even greater momentum to the activities of ISI. He provided force to the administration of ISI. The defeat of Pakistan in the war of 1971 and the rise of Bangladesh felt like an insult to him and he started preparing the ISI to teach some lessons to India. He familiarized the agency with modern doctrines of warfare. He connected ISI to Pakistan's foreign policy. His intent was to transform Pakistan into a strong power in the subcontinent through a policy of secret plots, aid to terrorists and through spreading lawlessness in the countries that treat Pakistan as an enemy. That is why today this agency, with its destructive intent, is prospering very much. No new prime

minister can form an effective foreign policy without help from this agency. Apart from its involvement in foreign ventures, nowadays ISI has been very active in the internal affairs of Pakistan. Mr. Bhutto had promoted General Zia-ul-Haq over many other senior officers from the army and the airforce because ISI was actively promoting him and the chief officer of ISI, General Gulam Jilani Khan had certified him to be a very reliable and trustworthy officer. General Zia, to show his indebtedness, continued the services of General Jilani as the chief officer of ISI even after he was scheduled to retire. This tradition of keeping a very trusted officer as the chief of ISI has been continued ever since the days of Mr. Bhutto. This agency has been very rough with the people of Pakistan. General Zia created and used the Civilian bureau of investigation, the Military Bureau of Investigation and the ISI to strengthen his own position. Its aim mainly was to keep an eye on the activities of the leaders of the Pakistan People's Party [PPP]. This agency has been accused of arresting without warrants, arresting innocent civilians, phone taps, and forcibly getting confessions from innocent people. There are three main spy agencies active in Pakistan: ISI, Military Intelligence [MI] and the Intelligence Bureau [IB]. These intelligence bureaus have become so powerful that they have an indirect share of power. The party in power uses them like a weapon. The intelligence bureau keeps tabs upon political operatives from those powers it considers enigmatic to Pakistan's interests. At the same time it is also responsible for harassing the opposition parties. ISI can spy within 50 miles of the border. Military intelligence is busy in Sindh stopping Indian operatives. This organization, as if following the jungle law, arrests innocent people and keeps an eye on the activities of the leaders of the opposition. ISI is considered the most efficient spy agency in the third world. With hundreds of civilian as well as military officers and thousands of workers, this infamous agency's headquarters is located in Islamabad. The chief of ISI is considered equal to the chiefs of the armed forces. ISI is feared within Pakistan also in the sense that even a simple army recruit is always full of doubts that ISI may be listening to him. It is divided into seven divisions: United Intelligence Bureau, United Counter Intelligence Bureau, United Signal Bureau, United Intelligence Various, United Intelligence North, United Intelligence Technical, United Intelligence X. Apart from the above, it also contains a separate explosives section and a chemical warfare section. United Intelligence Bureau is the biggest section of ISI. Almost sixty percent of the staff works in the section. There are three subsections in the intelligence bureau. One subsection is busy with only India. This subsection concentrates all its energies on those who want to work against India. They not only supply modern weapons but they also provide training, advice and the planning assistance to carry out the activities. It is an established fact that the terrorists in Punjab and Kashmir are being helped by ISI openly. They also provide training to thousands of terrorists. The involvement of ISI in the separatist movements in

the Northeast frontier areas, has been well known for some time. ULFA terrorists consider the ISI to be their savior. The mujahiddins of ULFA and Kashmir get their guerilla warfare training from ISI. ISI has many other plans, like the plan how to destroy the atomic reactors, the atomic energy research center, oil refineries, oil fields etc. The bomb explosions in Bombay made it clear for the first time that the ISI is getting very active in India after the destruction of the Babri Masjid. They have started a new operation 'K-2' which seeks to spread ill feelings between Hindus and Muslims. Their only aim is to incite religious hatred between communities. Embassies located in various countries are busy making Pakistani plans successful through their political appointees. This anti-India propaganda and work with many other countries continues not only from the embassy in New Delhi but also from many Pakistani embassies in many countries. The London based chief of ISI, Mr. Kuttubuddin Aziz had established contact with the Khalistan terrorists from the Pakistan embassy. He helped prepare and distribute cassettes full of false propaganda for this work. The Indian Counter Intelligence Agency has warned the government that 25 to 30 persons out of a total staff of 200 in the Pakistan embassy is involved in spying. Many of them are officers of ISI. The Pakistan Government is proud of their terrorist orientation, negative thinking and available facilities but to India, they are constant reminders of an incredible danger.

No Ideological Document Prior to CPI-M Congress

By J. K. SINGH, New Delhi, 22-11-1992. (The Indian Express, 22-11-1992, p. 1).

THE LEFT FRONT (LF) is the backbone of the history of the CPI(M) (Communist Party of India Marxist), no ideological document has been developed for discussion among members of the party committee and the lower level party committees. The 1988 party congress of the CPI(M) was held in the city of Chhindigarh, Punjab.

The 1988 party congress was held in the city of Chhindigarh, Punjab. The 1988 party congress was held in the city of Chhindigarh, Punjab.

A 1988 party congress was held in the city of Chhindigarh, Punjab. The 1988 party congress was held in the city of Chhindigarh, Punjab.

The 1988 party congress was held in the city of Chhindigarh, Punjab. The 1988 party congress was held in the city of Chhindigarh, Punjab.

The 1988 party congress was held in the city of Chhindigarh, Punjab. The 1988 party congress was held in the city of Chhindigarh, Punjab.

There was a fair amount of mud-slinging at the committee meetings. At the Baranagore-Noapara committee and at the Jagatdal Gramin local committee in North 24-Parganas, police help had to be sought to ensure that there was no tampering with ballot boxes.

At the zonal conference in Calcutta, a section of committee members made allegations of corruption and nepotism against some leaders of the zonal committee.

Senior party leaders, present at the committee meetings, did not intervene even when the discussions took an ugly turn. There were accusations that an office bearer of the committee at Chakdah-Nadia had offered monetary incentives to ensure his selection.

But more than these bickerings, what has hampered the CPI(M) is its failure to prepare a draft of the party programme. The party programme which was last presented at the seventh congress, is considered to be obsolete in view of the changing national and international situation.

At the insistence of delegates, the 14th party congress of the CPI(M), which was held at Madras in 1992, decided to redraft the party programme and place it in the 15th congress for approval.

A five-member drafting committee, which included Mr E.M.S. Namboodripad, Mr Jyoti Basu, and Mr Anil Biswas, was set up. The committee's draft was placed before the politburo and Central Committee prior to the finalization of the party programme.

But no unanimity could be reached at the two highest bodies of the CPI(M) over re-drafting of the party programme. Rather there were sharp differences of opinion among the members over the issue.

The main contention was over the analysis of the collapse of Communism in the former Soviet Union and East European countries.

While Mr Namboodripad held the view that the main mistake committed in the erstwhile Soviet Union was too much stress on defence production and neglect of agricultural growth, the others raised some basic questions on this issue.

It was said by some central committee members that the two central tenets of Marxism—the dictatorship of the proletariat and democratic centralism—were not implemented in the former Soviet Union. Minority opinion was neglected and there was unequal distribution of wealth and products.

There were also differences among the central committee members in determining which path—armed struggle or peaceful means—should be adopted in India to establish socialism.

As the central committee failed to reach a consensus on the party programme at its last meeting in October, a decision was taken not to present the draft at the next party congress.

But this created resentment among the rank and file of the party. The issue will be taken up by the central committee at its meeting early next month in Calcutta.

Compensation for Bhopal Victims Reported, Scored

Commissioner's Press Conference

95AS0156A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 28 Nov 94 p 5

[Unattributed article: "1.1 Lakh Bhopal Victims Compensated"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bhopal, Nov. 27.—A sum of Rs 339.15 crores has been awarded as compensation till November 14, in over 1.10 lakh claims filed by the victims of the 1984 Bhopal gas disaster.

Disclosing this at a press conference here today, the welfare commissioner, A.G. Quereshi said, of this amount, Rs 61.74 crore had been awarded in 7,000 cases of death while Rs 277.41 crore had been awarded to 1,04,756 victims.

About 98 per cent of those who had filed claims for injury had been awarded compensation which was paid within 60 days after it was announced. All claims would be disposed off in the next two to two-and-a-half years, he said.

The commissioner said 16,177 cases of death had been registered in the 38 special courts working in Bhopal for settling compensation claims. Of these, 12,423 had been resolved and in 7,000 of them compensation had been awarded.

In 971 cases of death, the beneficiaries had agreed to convert the claim for compensation for a death to a claim for compensation for injury.

The commissioner admitted that due to non-availability of judges, special courts for deciding compensation claims could not begin functioning till now in all the 56 wards of Bhopal.

Of the 5,79,306 victims of personal injury due to the disaster 3,63,899 have been medically examined.

Out of the funds received from the Reserve Bank of India following the agreement between Union Carbide Corporation and the government of India in February 1989, a sum of Rs 100 crore had been given to the Madhya Pradesh government for distribution of interim relief to the Bhopal gas victims.

The amount was being given to the state government in installments which would return it without any interest.

Replying to questions, he said there was no 'possibility' of this amount being misused since the funds received from the Union Carbide Corporation under its settlement with the government can be used only on the gas victims of Bhopal.

Mr Quereshi said wherever complaints of corruption were received, the matter was looked into and a case was filed in the state high court.

Relief Termed Inadequate

95AS0156B Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 28 Nov 94 p 5

[Unattributed article: "Bhopal Case Relief Grossly Inadequate"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bhopal, November 27.—The slow pace at which individual compensation cases in the Bhopal gas tragedy are being settled has ensured that the amount disbursed is less than the interest accumulated on the money received from the Union Carbide Corporation.

This was revealed from figures given to newsmen by claims commissioner Justice A.G. Quereshi today.

The Union Carbide Corporation had released Rs 715 crores in February 1989 as the final settlement. It had become Rs 1,030 crores by the time it was transferred to the claims commissioner on November 1992. Now two years later it stands at Rs 1245.92 crores. The interest earned during the two years amounted to Rs 215 crores, whereas the amount disbursed in the same period as compensation was Rs 204 crores.

Of the 16,177 claim cases for death, the courts have disposed off 12,423 cases, and compensation to the tune of Rs 61.74 crores has been awarded in 7,000 cases. However, the actual amount disbursed is Rs 48.75 crores—the average compensation being Rs 91,081.

Of the 4.27 lakh claims for injuries, the courts have awarded claims in 1.04 lakh cases. Although the amount awarded is Rs 277 crores, the actual disbursement is Rs 156.35 crores—the average compensation being Rs 26,470.

When an individual compensation claim is settled, the government actually recovers Rs 7,200 which was the interim relief paid earlier.

From all accounts, the compensation kitty seems to be cash rich. So far Rs 100 crores has been given to the government for payment of interim relief following the instructions of the supreme court.

According to Mr Quereshi, there should be no problem in settling all the compensation cases within the amount available. He felt that the cases would be settled in another two and half years. "The process is taking time as adequate number of judges are not available. Besides there are some procedural problems as well," he said.

Referring to corruption charges, Mr Quereshi admitted that he had received about 40 complaints regarding various judges. "One of the judges had been suspended, and other cases are being inquired into," he said.

He also disclosed that a compensation case, in which the claim was sought by a relative of a person who had committed suicide, was being reviewed.

"Under the strictly legal procedure, no compensation should be paid without a post-mortem report. But this tragedy being a special situation, we have waived off this provision, and death claims are being settled on the strength of evidence that the deceased was a resident of the gas-affected area, and was undergoing treatment for the problem before death," he added.

Apathy Toward Victims

95AS0156C Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in
English 1 Dec 94 p 12

[Article by Praful Bidwai: "Bhopal's Social Pathology; Apathetic Elite Has Failed the Victims"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] When the Central government promulgated the Bhopal Gas Leak Disaster (Processing of Claims) Ordinance in 1985 under the doctrine of *parens patriae* (the state as protector or parent), it assumed a specific responsibility to secure justice for the victims and provide adequate relief, medical care and compensation to them. This was not an act of charity. There was a trade-off involved: the victims' right to choose their own legal representatives and bargaining agents was taken away in return for the assumption of that responsibility. A decade later, the government has comprehensively failed to discharge it. It has betrayed the trust that Parliament placed in it by passing the Bhopal Act. In 1989, it entered into an odiously collusive settlement with Union Carbide Corporation (UCC) of the U.S., which will remain an abiding embarrassment for the higher judiciary. The deal extinguished all litigation against the company in return for the paltry sum of \$470 million, subverting the aims of justice.

Veritable Museum

The government has failed to provide relief and rehabilitation to the victims. The gas-affected wards of Bhopal remain a veritable museum of illnesses and diseases of awesome variety, caused by several potent poisons. The victims' misery continues; their symptoms recur; their disabilities persist. If the government had set out to add insult and ignominy to the victims' toxic injury, it could not have done better. Going by the criterion of John Rawls, the American moral philosopher—viz., what an action does for the most disadvantaged—the government stands condemned.

Bhopal is a clear case of denial of medical treatment. Nothing else can explain why the government has refused to send out doctors to the disabled victims' homes (rather than have them knock on dispensary doors), deployed the most callous staff, failed to evolve a rational line of treatment, even provide symptomatic relief. The failures are too numerous and well-documented to need mention. They are compounded by

the victims' lack of access to their own health records and the ICMR's [Indian Council of Medical Research] refusal to publish studies that give a frightening account of their myriad medical problems.

The claims courts through which the victims are being granted compensation are monuments to corruption, callousness and cupidity. They have settled only a seventh of all claims, and paid out an average of Rs 89,325 for death and a pathetic Rs 26,540 for a lifetime of suffering. Worse, the state is profiteering at the victims' expense. A simple calculation shows that the total compensation paid so far adds up to less than a quarter of the interest earned on the money UCC deposited—and the state has already pocketed the principal. Even if remaining claims are settled at the current rate, the total will still not add up to the amount of interest earned. Nothing could be more grotesque.

Total Breach

The government's breach of its obligations, then, is complete and total. Its cruelty to the victims is tantamount to victimising them all over again. In spite of this, the victims' spirit has not been broken. This is an altogether amazing phenomenon. The gas-affected people of Bhopal—extremely poor and underprivileged—have waged a truly heroic struggle to secure justice and recover their human dignity. We should not see them as objects of pity, but as fighters for a just cause who deserve our respect, solidarity, adulation, even admiration. It is the victims' efforts alone that have left a tiny aperture open through which decency and justice can return to Bhopal.

This places a special obligation upon this society. It can never fully undo the harm done to the people by Union Carbide and compounded by its own apathy. But it can at least acknowledge its failures, make an attempt to redeem itself, albeit only symbolically and, above all, to ensure that there will be no future Bhopals. Four consequences follow. First, the President and the Prime Minister should go to Bhopal on December 2 and launch remedial health and relief measures through a national medical commission. The commission should pick up the threads lost in 1985-87 and re-start systematic diagnosis and treatment of patients with the most concerned and competent physicians available.

Second, the present compensation farce based on arbitrary criteria must be ended at once. The claims court should be told to adopt rational criteria based on the mapping of the dispersal of toxic gases on December 3 and gradation of the different wards in the affected areas according to severity of exposure and injury. According to this classification, flat rates ranging from a minimum of Rs 50,000 to Rs 5 lakh should be paid to all the victims who have proof of residence in a particular area (which the vast majority do). For cases in acute distress or in need of special care, an additional sum should be earmarked. The advantage of this method is that it will

obviate the call for medical documentation (which most victims lack) and reduce corruption. The effort must be to use the nearly Rs 3,000 crore with the government for the victims' benefit.

A third necessary step is to pursue the criminal cases against UCC and its officials in a serious and purposive fashion. A high-powered cell should be set up by the law and chemical ministries including independent experts, knowledgeable Carbide ex-employees, NGOs [expansion not given] and the CBI [Central Bureau of Investigation] to work out the legal strategy. This prosecution is an ethical imperative. Carbide has been let off the civil liability hook. The victims, at the very least, must know through the criminal cases who caused them such untold misery; the culprits must be punished. Only thus can a deterrent be created to unsafe plant designs and reckless compromises on occupational and environmental safety.

And finally we must have more, not less, regulation of industry for safety and health at all levels: location, choice of products, technology, processes, end-use, disposal, toxicity at different stages, etc. India is one of the world's least regulated and most misregulated economies. Under the post-1991 economic policy, it is dismantling even potential instruments for rational regulation, e.g., directorate-general of technical development. In their obsessive courting of foreign investment, our policy-makers are permitting all manner of technology to come in without assessment of safety or environmental impact.

Fully Delicensed

Even the drug industry, which uses toxic substances and hazardous processes, has been fully delicensed. Virtually anyone can come in and set up anything they like. This is an invitation to future Bhopals—in Vapi-Surat, Baroda, Chembur, Lote Parashuram, Thane-Belapur. India is also turning into a major dumping ground for toxic wastes from the OECD [Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development] countries

All this is being permitted on the assumption that an unequal division of labour between North and South—in which the South houses all the hazardous industries, and provides cheap, sweated labour in the name of "globalisation"—is both necessary and desirable and that eventually, growth will take care of the environment, health and public safety. This is ahistorical, illogical and perversely unethical. Even the World Bank will be embarrassed at the proposition. We must say a firm "no" to this. If this means that we alter the course of our economic policy and allow investment flows to ebb, then so be it. Bhopal was not merely an industrial accident, it expressed a whole social pathology rooted in sp social and political conditions, and in policies emblematic of certain ideologies. These conditions must be changed if we are not to have another Bhopal.

Foreign Secretary Meets Press, Expresses Concerns

95AS0152A Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE in English 1 Dec 94 p 7

[Unattributed article: "India Objects to SU-17s to Pak"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, Nov. 30: India's serious concern has been conveyed to Moscow and its embassy here through diplomatic channels over Russia's reported move to sell its fighter planes SU-17 to Pakistan.

"The Russian government is aware of our views that the sale of weapon systems in this region should not generate tensions, create military imbalance and be a cause of instability," said the Foreign Secretary, Mr K. Srinivasan.

This observation was made by Mr Srinivasan in reply to a question during his hour-long question-answer session with newsmen here on Tuesday.

The question was asked in the context of the current presence of a high level Russian military mission in Islamabad and reports from Moscow that the SU-17 fighter deal might be finalised and concluded during the Pakistani Prime Minister, Ms Benazir Bhutto's forthcoming visit to Moscow in December, this year.

Despite Pakistan's persistent opposition and reluctance to resume bilateral dialogue with India to resolve outstanding differences, India has conveyed to Islamabad that New Delhi was willing and ready to go "more than half way" for resumption of bilateral talks with Pakistan. Mr Srinivasan stated in regard to the Human Resource Development Minister, Mr Arjun Singh's recent visit to Islamabad in connection with the Commonwealth Education Ministers' meet. According to Mr Srinivasan, Mr Arjun Singh had three messages to convey and they were (1) India was willing to go more than half the way to meet Pakistan, (2) the two countries could address a wide range of issues without getting bogged down in complex ones, and (3) Mr Singh was more than ready to start "stimulating cultural intercourse" between India and Pakistan to create an atmosphere which could create a climate of confidence to enable the two countries to work together. The Foreign Secretary further pointed out that upto now he had no information that the Indian minister's message was received in any manner different from his own experience in Islamabad.

He referred to his Islamabad "experience" as one of "regret" and "disappointment," because Pakistan authorities failed to take advantage of Mr Singh's and his presence in Islamabad to break the deadlock.

At his informal talks with the Pakistani Foreign Secretary, Mr Najmuddin Shaikh, who was the chairman of the Commonwealth senior officials meet, Mr Srinivasan conveyed India's readiness to start bilateral dialogue with Pakistan and in this context he drew his Pakistani

counterpart's attention to the Prime Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao's statements on October 31 and November 18, in particular, and requested Mr Shaikh to bring them to the notice of Ms Bhutto. While conceding to bring Prime Minister Rao's above two statements for resumption of talks to the notice of Ms Bhutto, Mr Shaikh minced no words to say that "atmospherics" were not conducive to such an exercise.

Despite this attitude of his Pakistani counterpart, Mr Srinivasan told Mr Shaikh that his (Mr Srinivasan's) invitation, to Mr Shaikh for talks would be continuing and open.

Stating that the two neighbouring countries had spent "so long in an unnecessary sterile atmosphere," Mr Srinivasan made it clear that India would adopt a patient approach without getting discouraged by Islamabad's stance.

"We should continue our willingness and readiness for talks with Pakistan," he asserted.

UNI Reports

Mr Srinivasan told reporters that there was no truth in newspaper reports that Mr Narasimha Rao had advised Ms Chandrika Kumaratunga when she took over as Prime Minister on the peace talks.

He said India felt that the problem in Sri Lanka should be settled peacefully in the context of a sovereign, unified status of the island nation.

Referring to the installation of a Communist government in Nepal, Mr Srinivasan said India looked forward to working closely with that government considering the friendly and longstanding ties between the two countries.

Joint Border Patrol Seen as Threat to Security

951501491 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 1 Dec 94 p 6

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Jalandhar, Nov. 30—The joint coordinated patrolling of the 2,435 km-long western frontier, launched with much fanfare in 1989 following an agreement between India and Pakistan, has not only become a toothless exercise but has heightened threat perception to the nation's security in view of the ulterior designs of Pakistan's Inter-services Intelligence (ISI) agency.

Stating this at a press conference at Wagah border last night, BSF [Border Security Forces] Punjab frontier's inspector general Terrance Correya echoed the assessment of several officers of the force when he suggested that the exercise should now at least be scrapped along Punjab's 553 km-long border with Pakistan as the frontier had been adequately fenced and flood-lit.

He told journalists that he would strongly take up the case of scrapping the patrolling during the high-level meeting of BSF officers with their Pakistani counterparts

led by director general of Pakistan rangers to be held at BSF campus here on December 14-15.

He claimed that not a single intruder had been able to cross the live wire fence in Punjab ever since the multi-crore rupee project of fencing and flood-lighting about 450 km long of the border stretch was completed early last year.

Most BSF officers this correspondent talked with agreed that it was ridiculous to have agreed in the first place to such a suggestion made by Pakistani officers only to score a diplomatic point. They said how a toothless exercise could have achieved any result when only two patrols each were to cover four segments of more than 600-km each along the western frontier. It was preposterous to have hoped that Pakistan would be interested in helping India ward off terrorist threat to its security when ISI itself was engaged in acts of subversion against the country.

Under this exercise, the coordinated patrols of BSF and Pakistani rangers start from a pre-determined point by mutual agreement on either side of the zero line. The exercise is restricted to only daytime. It was perceived to have had become a redundant exercise in less than one year after it came into force in July 1989 as it failed to check the menace of terrorist infiltration. Hence work on fencing and flood-lighting the Punjab border was taken up on a warfooting soon after.

The same exercise is repeated along the inhospitable and desolate terrain of Rajasthan which has a 1,035 km-long border with Pakistan.

The task is even more difficult along the Gujarat frontier, particularly in its 104 km-long undemarcated border which lies submerged in the Arabian sea.

It is significant that inspector-generals of BSF from Rajasthan, Jammu frontier and the BSF headquarter in Delhi will take part in the December 14-15 meeting at Jalandhar, according to Mr Correya.

Mr Correya said he decided to strongly push the case for scrapping the patrolling after it came to the BSF's notice that the ISI had hatched a game plan to subvert Indian bordermen by bribing and corrupting and ultimately indoctrinating them. Action had already been taken against two BSF personnel for accepting "gifts" from their Pakistani counterparts in recent months.

He said he had been trying to sensitise all those concerned in the Minister of Home, Defence and External Affairs on the issue and persuade them to scrap the "useless exercise" at least in Punjab where the combination of bordermen and border fencing was enough to ward off any threat from across the zero line.

The BSF had launched "operation roar" all along the Punjab frontier by making officers spend at least a week on Border Out Posts (BOPs) with jawans maintaining

vigil so that they could understand the day-to-day problems faced by them and also find out lapses, if any, and suggest measures to overcome them.

Progress in Defense Research Deemed Slow

95AS0150A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English 2 Dec 94 p 6

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bombay, Dec 1—Indian defence research and development is not progressing as rapidly or as fast as its leaders had hoped for and observers predicted.

This is stated in the 1994 yearbook of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI).

"The obstacles preventing India from developing a more advanced military technology base are primarily technical and economic, stemming from chronic problems with project management rather than any lack of scientific resources," it has stated.

According to the yearbook, this conclusion is important, because 1993 marked a decade since management reforms in the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) under the Indira Gandhi administration were promulgated.

It has stated that Indian military research and development programmes have not created the anticipated technological momentum that would allow them to move from limited import substitution to indigenous innovation.

"Consequently, reports to the effect that sophisticated conventional or nuclear weapons are easily or inevitably within the grasp of India or other countries that do not share India's scientific resources, should be viewed with scepticism. India's strategic space, long-range strike or power projection programmes show every sign of having been frozen or set back," it states.

Annually, the Stockholm-based institute carries out an in-depth study of military technology, research and programmes in different parts of the world.

SIPRI has expressed the view that the talents of Indian scientists and engineers would be best applied by strengthening their demonstrated abilities in component design and production of selected major systems with an emphasis on identifying and exploiting competitive niches.

Such an approach, it has stated, which is increasingly popular elsewhere, would pay greater dividends if the resources devoted to indigenous design of complete major systems were released.

India's military industry seemed to be learning some lessons from the failures of its first design and observers expected it to continue smoothly up the learning curve to the point at which advanced designs would be produced by the mid-1990s, according to SIPRI.

"Yet, despite an energetic drive for technological independence, India imports major systems in greater volume than any other country, developing or industrialised. It is probably the largest importer of components as well, despite having an overall military budget less than one-fifth the size of those of France, Germany or the United Kingdom," according to SIPRI.

It has stated that Indian military and industrial leaders have sought the state-of-the-art, not only to ensure technological advantage, but also to demonstrate that India's capabilities compare favourably with those of industrialised countries.

SIPRI has described the delivery of the surface-to-surface 'Prithvi' missile as the "greater achievement from the perspective of self-reliance." The first delivery of Prithvi has shown a technological competence, not previously evident, but leaves several questions unanswered. "Because it uses some foreign components and alloys, 'Prithvi' does not meet the first requirement of self-reliance at least during the initial production."

The yearbook has quoted government officials as saying that the "foreign content" of the first 'Prithvis' as 15 or 20 percent, but express the hope that the figure will drop to five percent over a period of time.

Reportage on Government Change in Nepal

Adhikari Policy Analyzed

95AS0151A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English 2 Dec 94 p 11

[Article by Shastri Ramachandran: "Adhikari Changes Tone But Not Objectives"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, December 1. The entire gamut of Indo-Nepal relations have been thrown open with Mr Manmohan Adhikari of the Communist Party of Nepal (United Marxist-Leninist) (CPN-UML) assuming office as prime minister.

The anti-India postures and slogans, potent as a vote-winning ploy of the CPN, may now become acceptable as genuine demands in shaping policy. Despite this, Mr Adhikari has taken conspicuous care to convey that the foreign policy agenda will be markedly distinct from the rhetoric that was necessary to reach office.

Mr Adhikari, who argued a strident case for reviving Indo-Nepal ties when his party snuffed the prospect of power, toned down his stand when he was returned to office. He resiled far enough to assert that if Nepal's interests suffered under the "tilt," it was because the government in Kathmandu failed to present its case effectively.

The import of Mr Adhikari's revised message is that anti-Indianism was essential as election rhetoric, and as a political ploy but that the CPN rejects it as policy to govern Nepal's relations with India.

This is calculated to disabuse the assumption that the Hindu kingdom under the Marxist-Leninists would pursue a confrontationist policy towards its closest neighbour. Mr Adhikari, who had categorically called for a review of Nepal's relations with India, correcting "imbalances" and undoing the "tilt" has now affirmed that the CPN "will do nothing to impair our relations with India." In fact, he now speaks of the "tilt" without naming the country.

Mr Adhikari's tone has changed but not his objectives. He had identified the Tanakpur barrage, trade, transit facilities and security perceptions as the "problems" affecting ties between the two countries.

Though the India-Nepal Treaty of 1950 has not been specifically cited as "the problem" now, political forces in Nepal, particularly the Communists, have demanded that the treaty be scrapped. Holding all treaties and agreements with India to be "unequal," the Communists had consistently charged that the Koirala ministry had a pro-India tilt. While this did not go down well enough with the electorate in 1991, the Communists are bound to read the results of this election as a mandate for "correcting the imbalances" in Nepal's relations with India.

Given the compulsions of market forces, trade and transit are the least insurmountable of the problems. Water resources, the Tanakpur barrage, reciprocal rights for the citizens of each country in the other and "security perceptions" are issues which could prove intractable. Defence is the most sensitive of these.

Article 5 of the 1950 treaty says: "Nepal shall be free to import, from or through the territory of India, arms, ammunition or war-like material and equipment necessary for the security of Nepal." A letter exchanged with the treaty says that the import shall be with the "assistance and agreement" of the Government of India. The Communists have consistently been opposed to the security of Nepal being dependent on Indian "assistance and agreement." In recent years, Nepal, which does not perceive China as a heavy-handed neighbour, has sought to neutralise Indian influence arguing that it needs to maintain equidistance between the two countries.

The linkages the CPN has been seeking with Mr Subhas Ghising in Darjeeling and Mr Nar Bahadur Bhandari in Sikkim and the promise of an all-weather route between China and Nepal are seen here as attempts to "diversify relations" that could endanger Indian security interests.

Nepal being used as a transit point for the operations of Jammu and Kashmir militants and the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) and the cross-border movement of illegal arms are also cause for concern in India. This violates the 1950 treaty which lays down that "neither government shall tolerate any threat to the security of the other."

While Mr Adhikari has been categorical that he will not allow any activity against India's interests on Nepali soil

and the influence of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPM) in West Bengal could dampen the CPN's relations with Mr Ghising, Indian sensitivity on Sikkim has yet to be addressed.

The Communists may also seek to nullify the Indo-Nepal agreement on water resources. Though the Koirala ministry held this to be an "understanding," the supreme court ruling that it was indeed a treaty (which requires to be passed by a two-thirds majority in parliament) strengthened the Communist accusations of a "sell-out" to India. This is another contentious point on which they may prove to be unrelenting.

A more sensitive problem at the people-to-people level concerns privileges, in the matter of residence, property rights and employment, to nationals of one country in the territories of the other on a reciprocal basis.

Nepal has not adhered to its end of the bargain despite the asymmetrical benefits it enjoys. In fact, the 1950 treaty confers upon Nepal many advantages more or less unilaterally. Apart from property rights which place Indians in Nepal at a disadvantage, the Nepal supreme court, by a ruling in December 1993, barred employment of "foreigners" (Indians) as "ultra vires" of the constitution. A large number of Nepali nationals are employed in state and central governments, the armed forces and the private sector.

Despite the absence of reciprocity in many of these privileges, New Delhi has not reacted. South Block's refusal to be provoked by anti-India acts and accusations has created a situation where Nepalese forces make greater demands while fomenting anti-Indian feelings. The demand for increasing the intake of Gorkhas in the Indian army while denying the privileges laid down in the treaty is only one instance of this new aggressiveness.

Attempts to introduce work permits for "foreigners" (Indians), ignoring the large number of Nepalis working in India is another issue. Mr Adhikari, who has been silent on these matters, cannot avoid a resolution of these in any negotiations.

New Delhi's stand has been that some asymmetrical benefits to Nepal should not be grudged so long as it shows an understanding of Indian security concerns. If this is forthcoming and the CPN can separate its policy pursuits from the political platform on which it rode to office, then the steady relationship of 34 years, reinforced by linkages across a very wide social and economic range, may not be endangered.

Envoy Recall Rejected

25/12/1994 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA (English) Dec 94 p 7

[Unattributed article: "Move To Recall Envoy to Nepal Rejected"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, December 1: India today rejected the demand for recalling its ambassador to Nepal Bimal Prasad, and said he had not taken any "partisan position" during the recent election. Besides, India said it would not prejudge a response on the reported comment of Mr Manmohan Adhikari that he would review all past treaties with India after assuming office as no such formal request had been received.

Foreign secretary K. Srinivasan said "there is no ground for any individual or groups in Nepal to seek his recall." He was responding to a question regarding the critical comments made about the ambassador, who was appointed by the Chandrashekar government in 1990, by Mr Adhikari and the allegations over his working against the interests of Nepal's Communist Party which has been voted to power for the first time in the Himalayan kingdom.

The allegations regarding his were levelled by the CPI [Communist Party of India] and some individuals in Nepal.

"The Indian ambassador is accredited to the Nepal government and his mandate is to reach out to all shades of opinions and groups to generate friendship between India and Nepal," Mr Srinivasan said. "Our ambassador has not taken a partisan position," he said.

Stating that neither a request for a review of the 1950 Indo-Nepal treaty nor for the recall of the envoy had been made by Nepal, Mr Srinivasan remarked "obviously it takes two sides to enter into an agreement."

A press release by the external publicity division of the ministry stated that the people of India felt happy at the successful completion of the elections which are a testimony to the democratic process in Nepal. "The government of India wishes His Majesty King Birendra Bikram Shah Dev, the government and the people of Nepal all success in their tasks of development and progress. The government of India looks forward to continuing the process of further strengthening the multifaceted relations between India and Nepal."

CPI-M 'Revitalized'

95 AS0151C Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 20 Nov 94 p 6

[Unattributed article: "Basu Expected To Play Important Role in Indo-Nepal Relations, Plans To Hold Rally To Celebrate, CPI(M) Revitalized by Left Win in Nepal"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The BBC newscast on Friday night announcing the Communist Party of Nepal's (United Marxist-Leninists) victory lit up the faces of the CPI(M) central committee members. Mr Buddhadev Bhattacharya and Mr Anil Biswas. They had been following the outcome of elections in Nepal from the party headquarters in Alimuddin Street

"We will see them installed in power," said Mr Bhattacharya, exuberantly. "We are in constant touch with our comrades in Nepal," said the normally unflappable Mr Biswas somewhat excitedly. "The Nepalese polls are a major event for us. We are happy that a Communist party has come to power in our immediate neighbourhood. Its implications are varied and wide. In our region, the Marxist-Leninist ideology still has relevance and appeal," he said.

Mr Biswas also contacted the State party secretary, Mr Sailen Dasgupta, to suggest the organization of a mass rally at Esplanade East on Tuesday to celebrate the UML's "magnificent victory."

Their enthusiasm perhaps springs from the fact that the UML was born and held its first congress in an underground hideout in Calcutta in 1949. Senior Indian Communist leaders were present that day. For over a quarter of a century—until 1987—the party had been banned on the orders of the king, and Calcutta was the home for most of the Nepalese Communist leaders.

They ranged from the party's founder, Pushpa Lal, Madan Bhandari, to the present party chairman, Mr Manmohan Adhikari. In fact, the State Chief Minister, Mr Jyoti Basu, and Pushpa Lal had been underground together for years in various parts of the city.

Now Mr Basu's role in future Indo-Nepal relations are being talked about in both Nepal and Ministry of External Affairs circles. MEA officials said that Mr Basu would be consulted by the Government to iron out differences with Nepal—as is being done in the case of Bhutan—which keep cropping up fairly regularly. It is also being said that the UML might use Mr Basu to pressure Delhi.

In 1992, when the UML invited Mr Basu to unveil a memorial in honour of Pushpa Lal in Kathmandu, the Chief Minister responded positively. He also revived contacts with his old associates during his visit to Kathmandu. "Our Nepalese comrades had also helped us in numerous ways including shelter for us when necessary," Mr Bhattacharya said.

"Calcutta was then known as a revolutionary centre and leading Communists of the east, including Peng Cheng, one of the oldest surviving members of the Chinese Communist Party, sought shelter in the city. We and the Nepalese have learnt a lot from each other's experience, and this has inspired both," said Mr Biswas. He added, "We are happy that UML's long struggle for peasant's rights and fight against feudalism has been rewarded."

The CPI(M) is also happy about UML's results as it has itself contributed to the success. Posters, pamphlets, booklets and banners were printed and supplied from Siliguri. This is part of the long-standing help that the CPI(M) has been providing to its Nepalese counterpart whenever elections were held.

Politically and ideologically, Mr Biswas said, both the CPI(M) and the UML held almost identical views. The CPI(M), UML and the Bangladesh Workers' Party have a tradition of working together and vibing with one another. Whenever invited, they have attended each other's political rallies and programmes.

Paper Reports Developments in Navy

Decline Predicted

95AS0154A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English 2 Dec 94 p 16

[Article by Dinesh Kumar: "Navy Faces Decline in Force"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, December 1. Painting a grim futuristic picture, chief of naval staff Admiral V.S. Shekawat today said the Indian navy was facing a decline in its forces level since they have not been able to place any orders for new ships in recent years owing to the prevailing resource crunch.

Talking to reporters on the eve of Navy Day here this morning, Admiral Shekawat said the navy would hence be looking for a limited purchase of ships from abroad to fill these gaps. He clarified there had been no concrete offer from the Russians on the sale of an aircraft carrier but declined to rule out the possibility of acquiring the vessel.

Admiral Shekawat also revealed that the indigenous aircraft carrier and submarine building projects had similarly got bogged down for want of government sanction and funding. "The plans for the air defence ship are ready but await funds," he said adding that in the case of the submarine project the plans were not completely ready since an assurance of sources of equipment was required.

He cautioned that the absence of any fresh orders for warships could also have an adverse fallout on the ship building yards. "Ship building yards need to plan in a continuous way so that the skills are not affected. With economic liberalisation, the mobility of labour might increase. Thus we are concerned that the yards might dissipate," he pointed out.

"The decline in the force level will become apparent only after some years and will thereafter only accentuate with time since older ships are also reaching the end of their service," he said. However, he added that in the prevailing resource crunch, "the navy could not claim exclusive priority as this would not be in the national interest. But we are trying our best to concentrate on what is essential," he added while revealing that the navy had frozen the strength of personnel since the last five to six years.

The decline will not be immediately visible since several ships are presently under construction. About a dozen ships are scheduled to be inducted between 1996 and

2000. The new ships will have better capability and hence the firepower of the navy might actually improve. "But this cannot offset completely the requirement of numbers. Quantity has a quality of its own," he observed saying that the navy has to protect a large coastline, protect an increasing level of trade and the large quantity of offshore wealth. "Protecting all this requires a large number of ships spread out over a large area for wider deployment and having longer endurance," he observed.

He said the responsibility of the navy is only expected to increase owing to the new liberalised economic policy. "Presently 95 per cent of the trade is by sea. The volume of trade is only expected to rise and even if Indian ships carry 50 per cent of the cargo, it requires a powerful navy for protection," he pointed out.

Providing details of future plans, Admiral Shekawat said the navy had conceived of the Frigate 2100 project comprising ships, indigenously designed and built, and fitted with advanced equipment in keeping with future requirements.

The navy is positioning two Godavari Class ships and a tanker off Somalia to assist de-induction of the Indian army brigade which forms part of the United Nations mission in that country. The brigade is expected to return before the end of this month. "This is a precautionary deployment owing to the unpredictable situation prevailing in that country," he stated. The de-induction process will be supervised by the Flag Officer Commanding-in-Chief (FOC-in-C) of the Western Naval Command.

Command Appointments Announced

95AS0154B Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English 2 Dec 94 p 16

[Unattributed article: "New Naval Command Chiefs for East, West"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, December 1: The navy today announced the appointment of Vice-Admiral Vishnu Bhagwat and Vice-Admiral P.S. Das as Flag Officers Commanding-in-Chief (FOC-in-C) of the western and eastern naval commands, respectively. Both the officers are course mates and were commissioned together.

Vice-Admiral Bhagwat, who will succeed Vice-Admiral K.A.S.Z. Raju as the FOC-in-C Western Command on December 31, is currently holding the key post of deputy chief of Naval Staff (Operations). Prior to this he was Flag Officer Commanding (FOC) of the Eastern Naval Fleet.

Vice-Admiral Das will succeed Vice-Admiral Guha who will retire after a few months. Vice-Admiral Das is currently director-general of the Defence Planning Staff. Prior to this he was Fortress Commander of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands (FORAM).

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Rear-Admiral Manvendera Singh, now FOC of the Western Naval Fleet, will be shifted to the Naval headquarters here.

Iran

Abbrand-Abady Editorial on Weak Statistics

95L10060C Tehran RESALAT in Persian 22 Nov 94 p 15

[FBIS Translated Text]

Weaknesses and Problems of Economic Statistics in the Country

Hoseyn Abrandabadi:

One of the main factors in economic decisionmaking, planning, evaluation, and analysis is the existence of statistics. Precise, impartial, timely, and complete statistics based on international standards can play a very important role in the above-mentioned situations. In fact, the main users of economic statistics, that is, government organizations, the private sector, universities, and research centers, have an urgent need for such information to satisfactorily continue their activities.

Since the time of the preparation of the First Development Plan of the country in the last years of the 1320s [1940s], this has been an issue. One of the problems and obstacles of preparing the reform and development programs of the country has been the lack of periodic and dependable information based on sound statistical methods in the ministries and government departments.

In 1334 [21 March 1955-20 March 1956], the law on the Department of Public Statistics was ratified, according to which the Department of Statistics was established for the purpose of collecting and centralizing various statistics in the country. Then, in 1344 [21 March 1965-20 March 1966], the Iranian Statistics Center was established and began operating under the supervision of the Plan and Budget Organization. In 1353 [21 March 1974-20 March 1975], some changes were made in the law on the Iranian Statistics Center, and other duties were conferred on this center. This law continues in effect.

Unfortunately, despite a history of more than half a century of statistics activities in the country, problems regarding economic statistics still exist for those who need them, such that the First Plan (1368-1372 [21 March 1989-20 March 1994]) suffers from a shortage of statistics, and a shortage of acceptable and reliable statistics and data was considered one of the problems and shortcomings in writing the plan. For this reason, if we cannot say the whole plan, at least some of the principles were based on expert estimates.

In writing the Second Plan, too, it became clear that the conditions had not changed a great deal and a shortage of statistical data continued to put limitations on precision in the plan.¹

The most important statistical economic problems that exist at the present in the country are, in summary:

A. Economic activities not being published in a timely fashion. For example, the statistics concerning the economic report of the Central Bank and the Plan and Budget Organization are published with a delay of about two years. In some cases, the delay in the publication of statistics and data amounts to about 10 years, such as statistics on the flow of funds in the country, for which the last available statistics are from 1364 [21 March 1985-20 March 1986].

B. Discrepancies between statistics published by the executive organizations and published statistics by [as published]. For example, every year statistics on wheat production by the Ministry of Agriculture differ considerably from the statistics of the Plan and Budget Organization, and a difference of several million tons cannot be explained. Also, some of the executive organizations, in order to make their operations appear better, offer fabricated, larger statistical numbers, and relying on them, considering the publication of correct statistics at later stages, is problematic.

C. At present, the government has two official statistics publication centers in the country, the Iranian Statistical Center, affiliated with the Plan and Budget Organization, and the Economic Statistics Office, affiliated with the Central Bank of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The result of the duality of the official centers for the collection and publication of economic statistics is that, in addition to huge expenditures for parallel activities, different statistical figures are published on one issue. For example, the statistics on the deficit of the balance of payments published in the economic report and the balance sheet of the Central Bank and the report of the Iranian statistical Center are even different in their method of calculation, whereas, a single standard method can be used and a clear number reached.

D. Charts of economic statistics of the country in numerous instances do not conform to the standard charts of economic statistics by the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund. For this reason, to a great extent, the researcher finds it nearly impossible to make a comparative study between the economic situation of the country and that of other countries.

Now that we are at the start of the implementation of the Second Five-Year Development Plan, it is necessary to take initiatives in regard to eliminating the above-mentioned problems. In this connection, the following suggestions can be taken into consideration:

1. Centralization of official and semi-official statistical units in one single organization and the prevention of parallel and costly activities.

Based on the findings on statistical collection that were made by the Iranian Statistical Center under the title of "Identifying the Statistical Needs and Resources of the

Country," about 900 organizations have an independent unit for statistical activities, and more than 9,000 people are engaged in statistical work. There are more than 2,500 computers, and 63 computer sites are used for this purpose.²

2. Standardization of statistical charts of the country, based on international standards.

3. Timely publication of economic statistics.

Hopefully, the officials will pay attention to the elimination of the problems of economic statistics of the country.

Notes

1. Speech by Engineer Haj 'Alifard, director of the Iranian Statistical Center, at the Second Conference on Iranian Statistics, Ferdowsi University, Mashhad, 16-18 Shahrivar 1373 [7-9 September 1994].

2. Ibid.

Principle Place of Industry in Second Five-Year Plan

95L A0060B Tehran RESALAT in Persian 24 Nov 94 p 6

[Report of interview with Engineer Hoseyn Hashemi, chairman of the Majles Industries and Mines Committee; place and date not given; first paragraph is RESALAT introduction; first part of interview is in 22 November RESALAT]

[EBIS Translated Text] The place of industry and the direction of industrial policy in the Second Plan, reconstruction of the existing industries, reform of the structure of the industry, determining the developmental budgets of the industrial sector, the procedure for the implementation of incomplete projects and start of new industrial projects in the Second Plan, expediting the procedure to transfer government units to the private sector, the effect of the increase in the price of petroleum products and energy on industrial products, and the latest results of the report of the Inquiry and Investigation Committee of the Majles in regard to the production of steel in the country are among the subjects the RESALAT economic correspondent discussed with Engineer Hoseyn Hashemi, the chairman of the Industries and Mines Committee of the Majles. Below you may read the results of this interview.

Place of Industry in the Second Plan

Stating that "the industries and mines sector plays an important role as the pivotal sector in national economic development," he said. In the First Development Plan sufficient attention was paid to the industries and mines sector, but in the Second Plan, attention has not been paid to this sector, as was expected.

Engineer Hashemi added: Due to the potential of the country with regard to agriculture, the Second Development Plan has concentrated on this sector. But the development of the agricultural sector is not possible without mechanizing its existing resources. Hence, in order to achieve the projected goals of the Second Plan for the agricultural sector, special attention must be paid to the related industries of the agricultural sector, which has been done to a great extent.

The Development Budget of the Industries Sector

In regard to the development budget of the industries and mines sector in the Second Development Plan, the chairman of the Industries and Mines Committee of the Majles said: The projected development budget for the industries sector in the Second Plan is on average about 2 percent and in the mines sector, 0.931 percent of the total national budget. In the agricultural sector, which is pivotal in the Second Plan, it is 5.698 percent of the total national budget.

He added: In the Second Plan, more attention should have been paid to the industries sector, because the industries sector, with the capacity to generate 838,000 jobs connected to agriculture, water, electricity, and transportation, is ranked first.

The Rate of Growth of Industries in the Second Plan

Stating that "the average gross domestic rate of growth of production of the industries sector in the Second Plan is 5.9 percent, and in the agricultural sector, 4.3 percent," Engineer Hashemi said: The highest figure in gross domestic production, after water and electricity, natural gas, and communications, belongs to the industries and mines sector.

In response to the question, "Is lack of sufficient attention to the industries sector in the Second Plan not tied to the failure to achieve the projected expectations in the First Plan in this sector, considering that in the First Plan sufficient resources were placed at the disposal of the industries sector?" he said: The industries and mines sector in the course of the First Plan has been relatively successful, because the average growth of this sector was about 15 percent. On the other hand, at the present time, the industries and mines sector, by providing raw materials for other sectors or producing goods in the country, has prevented the entry of many materials and goods, its main goal being to move toward self-sufficiency in the country.

Engineer Hashemi added: About 50 percent of the financial resources and foreign currency and rial funds granted to the industries sector in the course of the First Plan were used for the implementation of development projects, and another part has also been spent on the import of raw materials needed by the production units.

He mentioned that the direction of industrial policies in the Second Plan is to be toward the use of domestic

resources and production as much as possible and added: Strengthening and growth of domestic industries is one of the important goals of the Second Plan for the industries sector.

The Goods Production Centers in Industry in the Course of the Second Plan

Stating that "in the Second Plan, more attention has been paid to the production of goods in the intermediate and investment industries," the chairman of industries and mines Committee of the Majles said: Due to the importance of the production of intermediate industries, these two sectors take a higher position in the Second Plan. In regard to the main axes of the industrial movement in the course of the Second Plan, he added: The reconstruction of the existing industries of the country; reform of the structure of industries; expansion of agricultural conversion industries; and investment in agricultural conversion, electronic, and strategic industries of the country are among the main goals of the industrial movement in the Second Development Plan of the country.

Procedures To Implement the Incomplete Industrial Projects

In regard to the implementation of incomplete industrial projects in the course of the Second Plan, considering the limitations of the financial and foreign currency resources in the country, the chairman of the Industries and Mines Committee of the Majles said: According to Note 41 of the Second Plan law, the Ministry of Industries, in order to compensate for the deficit of investment expenditures, may from the sale of the shares of factories and companies under its control take steps to complete the incomplete industrial projects, on the basis of priority, and after the completion of these projects transfer them to the private sector.

In regard to incomplete industrial projects that must be completed by the Ministry of Industries and the Ministry of Mines and Metals in the course of the Second Plan, he said: The projects that must be implemented by the Ministry of Industries include the projects for the production of heavy electric machines and heavy diesel motors; the production of heavy tool machines, casting, blacksmith work, and heavy parts; the production of machinery for recasting metals; the improvement of the casting and blacksmith work of Arak; ship manufacturing of the Persian Gulf; sugar cane development (seven projects); and creation of agricultural and animal husbandry conversion industries. The projects of the Ministry of Mines and Metals that must be completed include Khorasan Steel (Phase 1—Mini Mill); Azerbaijan Steel; the Angural Zinc Production Complex; and Sungun Nepheline, Cyanite, and Copper.

Engineer Hashemi said: In order to expedite the implementation of the conversion and subsidiary agricultural and animal husbandry projects, the Ministries of Construction Jihad, Agriculture, and Industries may use the

finance and mutual purchase facilities in Note 22 of the Second Plan law, provided 90 percent of the implementation of these projects is conferred on the private and cooperative sectors.

Implementation of New Industrial Projects in the Second Plan

In regard to the implementation of new industrial projects in the Second Development Plan, he said: The government may only invest in strategic and necessary industrial projects that, due to their characteristics or volume of investment, cannot be implemented by the private sector. The financial resources for the implementation of such projects will be provided from the general revenues that are included in the annual budget.

In response to the question, "In implementing the industrial projects in the country, what level of domestic capability will be used?" Engineer Hashemi said: In order to implement the development projects in the Second Plan, the government is responsible for taking steps when signing contracts with foreign companies and contractors that ensure that foreign companies are obligated to transfer technical knowledge and train manpower. In connection with the purchase of machinery and equipment, the government is responsible for using domestic capabilities as much as possible in the area of design and engineering, implementation and manufacture, and installation of machinery and equipment. Also, the partnership of Iranian companies must be considered in the implementation of industrial projects.

He added: The Economic Council must also within three months from the date of the ratification of the Second Plan law specify the share of manufacture of equipment, the production of goods, and the procedures for the implementation of projects by the domestic companies and contractors and announce it to the Plan and Budget Organization to be included in the agreements of projects and to the Central Bank to observe the matter in opening credit.

In the continuation of this interview, Engineer Hashemi mentioned the goal of the implementation of the law concerning vehicles in the Second Plan in addition to support for domestic producers and their increasing attention to raising quality and lowering prices and said: The producers of domestic vehicles must move toward the modification of prices to enable low-income or middle-income people to also be able to easily purchase domestic vehicles.

Emphasizing the prevention of the entry of foreign vehicles, he pointed out: There are several advantages to imported vehicles being assembled in the country. First, the manufacturing factories will be forced to invest in the country to start the assembly lines in the country, and with this action, in addition to creating added value, jobs will be created for the manpower in the country. Best of all, the cost of vehicles assembled in the country will be

less than imported manufactured vehicles, and in time efforts can be made to produce their parts domestically.

The Process of Transfer of Government Units Will Continue in the Second Plan

Criticizing the slow process of the transfer of government units to the private sector, the chairman of the Industries and Mines Committee of the Majles said: The transfer of government production and industrial units in the country to the nongovernment sector was one of the goals of the First Development Plan in the country.

He added: In discussions with the officials of the industries in the country, the decision was made to remove the problems in regard to the transfer of government units, and it is projected that this year the process of the transfer of government units to the private sector will become faster, and this issue will also continue in the Second Development Plan of the country.

In response to the question, "Will government factories be transferred to the managers and officials of the same units?" he said: If government factories are transferred to the managers of the same units in accordance with legal methods, there will be no problem, and in some cases it will be better, because the managers of each unit are more familiar with the problems of that unit, and its operation will be more successful.

Stating that the new bylaws for the transfer of government units have had no changes compared to the past, and that only some facilitation has been included for combatants, Engineer Hashemi added: With the ratification and specification of the procedures to transfer government units to the combatants, there is no problem of transferring the government units to the private sector in the new law.

The Effect of the Increase in Prices of Petroleum Products and Energy on Industries

Stating that "the increase in the prices of petroleum products and energy in the Second Plan will have a direct effect on the industries sector and the production units in the country," he added: Last year, with the increase in the price of electricity, it was projected that on the average this increase would have an effect of 1 percent on industrial products. But when the reports were prepared in this connection, it became clear that the increase in the price of electricity had an average effect of 3 to 4 percent on industrial projects. This was too much for small and medium industrial units, which compose a large part of the industries of the country.

Engineer Hashemi said: The increase in the price of petroleum products and energy at the determined level is inevitable, and if a proper replacement policy is devised to prevent its side effects, certainly no problem will be created.

Stating that at present hidden subsidies are paid on the selling price of petroleum products, the chairman of the

Industries and Mines Committee said: The government must offer the actual price of petroleum products to the consumers and, on the other hand, by devising a clear mechanism and payment of direct subsidies to the low-income strata and with control and supervision over prices of other goods, prevent the inflationary effects of its price increase.

He added: The revenues resulting from setting a realistic price for petroleum products and energy must be invested in fundamental projects in the country.

Report of the Majles Inquiry and Investigation in Regard to Steel

In regard to the Majles inquiry and investigation in the area of steel, the chairman of the Industries and Mines Committee of the Majles said: The Majles Inquiry and Investigation Committee prepared a 161-page report, which was examined in the Industries and Mines Committee, a 23-page summary of which was presented to the Board of Directors of the Majles along with the original report about two months ago.

He emphasized: The original inquiry and investigation report and its summary, which was prepared by the Industries and Mines Committee of the Majles, will also be presented to the Committee on Articles 88 and 90 of the Constitution.

In response to the question of our correspondent, "When will the final result of the steel inquiry and investigation report be announced?" Engineer Hashemi said: The final announcement of the steel inquiry and investigation report will be determined by the Board of Directors of the Majles.

RESALAT Reports on Prices of Goods

95L100601 *Tehran RESALAT in Persian* 26 Nov 94 p.18

[FBIS Translated Text] Economic Division: People say that in order to reduce the prices of goods, especially at needed and widely used items, unnecessary middlemen and dealers must be eliminated.

According to a report by our correspondent, with the continuation of the plan to supervise and control the price of goods, the sale price of most essential goods at the end of last week remained fixed, as in the previous two weeks, or slightly increased. Also, with the fast distribution of such items as sugar, tea, powdered detergent, sugar cubes, and foreign cheese at ratified prices at the present time, the distribution of these goods in the market has returned to normal, and consumers do not show a great tendency to buy and store such items.

This report adds: At the present, the situation of the sale and distribution of such goods as domestic and foreign packaged butter, Iranian shortening, and sugar (domestic) has not returned to normal, and consumers must go early to

cooperatives and distribution stores that still have long lines to purchase these items at the ratified prices.

This report indicates that at the present time middlemen and dealers in goods easily engage in selling scarce goods in Mohammadiyeh and Mowlavi Squares in Tehran. For example, these dealers sell a 4.5-kg tin of shortening at 16,000-17,000 rials [R].

Asadollah Rasti, the manager of Shoraka grocery store in Mohammadiyeh Square of Tehran, stated that since last Thursday, the union of wholesale grocers has engaged in distributing an invoice of 1,000 tons of Afieh three-liter vegetable oil at the approved price and said, "With the distribution of this amount of liquid vegetable oil among the wholesalers and retail stores throughout the city of Tehran, it is anticipated that soon the price of most vegetable oils, especially liquid oil, will decrease on the open market."

He added, "All wholesalers who are members of the grocers union must offer every three-liter Afieh liquid oil at R8,515 to consumers."

In regard to the success of the government in implementing the plan to control the prices of goods, Rasti said, "If the government wants to succeed in fighting price hikers, it must play a supervisory role and entrust the distribution, production and sale of goods to the market."

Hossein Zafarqandi, who said he is an employee, stated that "with the implementation of the plan to fight price fixing, the government may face some (great extent to)

prevent the uncontrolled increase in the price of goods, especially foodstuff." He said, "In order to succeed in the implementation of this plan, in addition to supervision, the government must distribute needed goods at the necessary level in order for consumers to feel confident in regard to the procurement of the goods they need."

In order for consumers to have better and more direct access to the goods they need, he suggested that the coupon system of distribution be improved.

Amiri, a grocer in Mowlavi Square, supported the plan to fight price fixing and control prices of goods and said, "The goods distribution system, especially in regard to necessary and widely used goods, in the past was very disorderly and chaotic, and every once in a while profiteering individuals pocketed huge profits by hoarding and creating fluctuation in prices. With the implementation of the plan to regulate prices and the market of goods, this problem has been eliminated to a great extent."

He emphasized, "In order to succeed, as much as possible the government must increase the distribution of goods and, by affording competition among sellers, cause the limited and decrease of prices."

Amiri said, "In the past few weeks, with the extensive distribution of foreign red tea by trading companies, at the present level, the firm in the market is found at the ratified price."

The selling prices of some items in the Mowlavi and Mohammadiyeh markets of Tehran on Thursday (13-12-1994) are as follows:

Name of item	Wholesale price	Retail price	Ratified price for consumer
1. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
2. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
3. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
4. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
5. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
6. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
7. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
8. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
9. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
10. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
11. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
12. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
13. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
14. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
15. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
16. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
17. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
18. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
19. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
20. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
21. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
22. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
23. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
24. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
25. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
26. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
27. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
28. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
29. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
30. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
31. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
32. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
33. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
34. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
35. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
36. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
37. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
38. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
39. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
40. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
41. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
42. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
43. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
44. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
45. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
46. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
47. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
48. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
49. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
50. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
51. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
52. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
53. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
54. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
55. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
56. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
57. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
58. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
59. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
60. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
61. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
62. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
63. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
64. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
65. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
66. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
67. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
68. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
69. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
70. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
71. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
72. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
73. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
74. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
75. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
76. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
77. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
78. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
79. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
80. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
81. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
82. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
83. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
84. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
85. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
86. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
87. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
88. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
89. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
90. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
91. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
92. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
93. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
94. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
95. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
96. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
97. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
98. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		
99. 4.5 kg tin of shortening	16,000-17,000		
100. 3-liter Afieh vegetable oil	8,515		

cooperatives and distribution stores that still have long lines to purchase these items at the ratified prices.

This report indicates that at the present time middlemen and dealers in goods easily engage in selling scarce goods in Mohammadih and Mowlavi Squares in Tehran. For example, these dealers sell a 4.5-kg tin of shortening at 16,000-17,000 rials [R].

Asadollah Rasti, the manager of Shoraka grocery store in Mohammadih Square of Tehran, stated that since last Thursday, the union of wholesale grocers has engaged in distributing an invoice of 1,000 tons of 'Afieh three-liter vegetable oil at the approved price and said: With the distribution of this amount of liquid vegetable oil among the wholesalers and retail stores throughout the city of Tehran, it is anticipated that soon the price of most vegetable oils, especially liquid oil, will decrease on the open market.

He added: All wholesalers who are members of the grocers union must offer every three-liter 'Afieh liquid oil at R8,515 to consumers.

In regard to the success of the government in implementing the plan to control the prices of goods, Rasti said: If the government wants to succeed in fighting price hikers, it must play a supervisory role and entrust the distribution, production, and sale of goods to the market.

Hoseyn Zafarqandi, who said he is an employee, stated that "with the implementation of the plan to fight price hiking, the government has been able to a great extent to

prevent the uncontrolled increase in the price of goods, especially foodstuff." He said: In order to succeed in the implementation of this plan, in addition to supervision, the government must distribute needed goods at the necessary level in order for consumers to feel confident in regard to the procurement of the goods they need.

In order for consumers to have better and more direct access to the goods they need, he suggested that the coupon system of distribution be improved.

Amiri, a grocer in Mowlavi Square, supported the plan to fight price hiking and control prices of goods and said: The goods distribution system, especially in regard to necessary and widely used goods, in the past was very disorderly and chaotic, and every once in a while profiteering individuals pocketed huge profits by hoarding and creating fluctuation in prices. With the implementation of the plan to regulate prices and the market of goods, this problem has been eliminated to a great extent.

He emphasized: In order to succeed, as much as possible, the government must increase the distribution of goods and, by creating competition among sellers, cause the control and decrease of prices.

Amiri said: In the past few weeks, with the extensive distribution of foreign red tea by trading companies, at the present time this item in the market is found at the ratified price.

The selling prices of some items in the Mowlavi and Mohammadih markets of Tehran on Thursday (03/09/1373 [24 November 1994]) are:

Name of Item	Unit: Rial		
	Wholesale price	Retail price	Ratified price for consumer
500-g Shuma machine powdered detergents	1,150	1,200	1,200
500-g 'Aj machine powdered detergent	1,100	1,150	1,200
500-g Vash machine powdered detergent	1,100	1,150	1,200
480-g Pak powdered detergent for washing by hand	870	900	900
480-g Darya powdered detergent for washing by hand	860	900	900
1/2-kg mixed tea	820	850	900
1/2-kg Baharch tea	1,875	1,900	1,900
1/2-kg foreign red tea	3,900	4,000	4,000
Goli dishwashing liquid	950	1,000	
Jam dishwashing liquid	950	1,000	
Unnamed Iranian rice, per kg	1,850	2,000	
Tarem Iranian rice, per kg	1,900-2,200	2,200-2,400	
Thailand Golbaghal rice, per kg	1,340	1,450	
Apache American rice, per kg	1,700	1,780	
High quality lentils, per kg	1,800	1,900	
Tabriz split peas, per kg	1,700	1,800	
Chick peas, per kg	1,500-1,700	1,800	
Red beans, per kg	1,600	1,700	

Name of Item	Unit: Rial		
	Wholesale price	Retail price	Ratified price for consumer
White beans, per kg	1,100	1,200	
Khomeyn kidney beans, per kg	1,200	1,300	
Black-eyed peas, per kg	1,550	1,650	
Minah dried limes, per kg	2,850	3,000	
Tomato paste, per kg	1,500-1,800	1,600-1,900	
High-quality green mung beans, per kg	1,350	1,450	
Safar liquid oil, per liter	4,050-4,100	4,250	
Orkideh liquid oil, per liter	3,780	3,850	
Iranian shortening, 4.5 kg	scarce	scarce	10,500
Iranian packaged butter, per kg	scarce	scarce	6,000
Miangin Iranian cheese, per kg	3,500	4,200	
1/2-kg Foreign packaged cheese	1,664	1,830	1,830
Cone sugar, per kg	scarce	scarce	1,210
Cubed sugar, per kg	1,260	1,260	1,260
Sugar, per kg	1,100	1,100	1,100
900 g macaroni	580	650	
Maldeh 900 g macaroni	70	650	
Dadfar 330-g lemon juice	750	800	
Yek-o-yek 330-g lemon juice	1,100	1,200	
Semich 600-g lemon juice	1,050	1,100	
4-l Varda vinegar	1,800	1,950	
Golnar soap, per cake	360	400	
Quick-cooking chicken, per kg	2,600-2,700	2,700-2,800	
Slow-cooking chicken (Madar), per kg	2,050	2,100-2,150	
Eggs, per kg	1,250	1,300	
Filet of fish, per kg	3,000	3,500	
Large salmon/trout	2,200	2,500	
Small salmon/trout		1,800	
Large cyprinid fish	2,000	2,300	
Shurideh fish	4,500	5,000	
1/2-kg packaged shrimp		6,000	
Mutton with fat, per kg		4,800	
Boneless veal, per kg		5,500	

Retail Value of Some Consumer Goods Given

95LA0060G Tehran RESALAT in Persian 3 Dec 94 p 15

[FBIS Translated Text] Tehran, IRNA. The retail rate of 25 consumer and foodstuff items on Thursday (10 Azar [1 December]) compared to last Thursday (3 Azar [24 November]) remained stable, whereas the rate of one item decreased and one item increased.

According to a report by IRNA, throughout the city of Tehran last week, sugar, sugar cones, shortening, machine-washing and hand-washing detergent, and

imported cheese at the ratified and coupon prices in the chain stores and some of the other stores were sold at sufficient levels.

During the same period, the price of chicken decreased by 5.2 percent, the price of 1/2 kg of foreign red tea increase by 6 percent, and the price of 25 items did not change.

The retail price of 27 foodstuff and consumer items on Thursday, 10 Azar, compared with last Thursday is as follows. [currency omitted as published]

Kind of Goods	Thursday, 3 Azar	Thursday, 10 Azar	Change
1/2 kg Bahareh tea	1,900	1,900 approved	
1/2 kg foreign red tea	5,000	5,300	6 percent
Chicken, kg	2,850	2,700	5.2 percent
Mutton, kg	4,500	4,500	
Veal	5,300	5,300	
Average Iranian rice	2,200	2,200	
Thailand rice, kg	1,700	1,700	
American rice, kg	1,800	1,800	
Cane sugar, kg	1,210	1,210 approved	
Cube sugar, kg	1,260	1,260 approved	
Sugar, kg	1,100	1,100	
Shortening, 4.5 kg	10,500	10,500	
Lentils, kg	2,000	2,000	
Kidney beans, kg	1,700	1,700	
Chickpeas, kg	1,700	1,700	
Split peas, kg	1,900	1,900	
Imported cheese, kg	3,660	3,660 approved	
Average Iranian cheese	4,300	4,300	
100-g pasteurized butter	600	600 approved	
High-quality tomato paste, one can	2,000	2,000	
Second-rate tomato paste	1,850	1,850	
Eggs, carton	2,600	2,600	
Hand-washing detergent, 480 g	900	900 approved	
Machine-washing detergent, 600	1,200	1,200 approved	

[25 items, as published]

Prices Must Be Set by Producers, Distributors

95LA0060D Tehran RESALAT in Persian 4 Dec 94 p 15

[Report on press conference with Engineer Shafe'i, minister of cooperatives, by press, radio, and television on 3 December 1994; place not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tehran. IRNA. The minister of cooperatives announced: Five large cooperative stores will become operational throughout the country by the end of this year.

Engineer Shafe'i, who spoke in a press, radio, and television interview yesterday, added: Three large stores will be operational by 22 Bahman this year [11 February 1995] in Eslamshahr and Chahardangeh on the Saveh Road and one store in Shiraz by the Emkan Union.

He said: Another two stores will also be inaugurated with the services of the cooperative company affiliated with the Ministry of Cooperatives in Kermanshah and Khorramabad.

Referring to the project to create 1,000 chain stores throughout the country with the participation of the

people, the minister of cooperatives said: The implementation of this project will require heavy investments, and if the existing consumer cooperatives in the country are also strengthened in terms of needed capital and land, they will play a better role in the distribution network.

Engineer Shafe'i mentioned the number of existing cooperative stores as 5,879 small and large stores and added: The preliminary plan to expand the branches of the Sepah Cooperative Company throughout the country has been presented to the Ministry of Cooperatives. In the first phase, chain stores will be opened in 12 large cities, such as Karaj, Qom, and the capitals of provinces.

He said: In the implementation of the second phase of the Sepah Plan, stores will be opened in cities with populations of more than 100,000.

The minister of cooperatives added: In the Second Development Plan, the creation of 74 cooperative stores with 17 billion tumans in funds has been projected, of which 20 percent of the investment will be by the cooperatives and 80 percent through the banking system.

Stating that more than 67 percent of urban dwellers are members of consumer cooperatives, Engineer Shafe'i said: Last year, on the average, every member of the

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

consumer cooperatives bought 20,000 tumans worth of goods, and in the past six months the goods in the cooperatives have been an average of 16 percent less expensive than on the open market.

Concerning the distribution of essential goods through employee consumer cooperatives, Engineer Shafe'i said: The Ministry of Commerce acts independently in distributing such goods among cooperatives. It opposes any sort of rationing for cooperatives.

In another part of this interview, the minister of cooperatives referred to the activities of the Ministry of Cooperatives and said: The total of activities carried out by the Central Offices of Cooperatives in the provinces in the first six months of this year were 76,000 instances, which include 49,000 supervisory and legal activities for 5,300 production and distribution cooperatives, 19,000 cases of investigation of financial accounts of cooperative companies, and 600 cases of assistance and introduction of cooperatives to the Cooperative Fund for receiving loans.

Five New Cooperatives To Be Established This Year

95LA0060E Tehran RESALAT in Persian 4 Dec 94 p 15

[Report on interview with Engineer Mahmud Ahmadpur, head of the Industries Organization of the Foundation for the Oppressed and Self-Sacrificers of the Islamic Revolution, by economic correspondent; place and date not given; first paragraph is RESALAT introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] **Economic Division. The quality of goods and the expansion of investments to increase the reconstruction and production of existing units and increase industrial exports must not be eliminated as a result of the implementation of the policy of control of prices and pricing of goods.**

In an interview with the economic correspondent of RESALAT, Engineer Mahmud Ahmadpur, the head of the Industries Organization of the Foundation for the Oppressed and Self-Sacrificers of the Islamic Revolution, made this announcement and added: Even though the pricing of goods causes economic stability and control and harnesses inflation, if attention is not paid in determining the rate of goods to the development, reconstruction policies, creation of variety and quality of products, and price of raw materials for production units in a realistic way, certainly the capability and motivation of production and supply of goods in the future will decrease, and the goods market will face shortages and crisis.

Emphasizing the importance of the reconstruction of industrial units, he said: If attention is not paid to the expenditures for investment in reconstructing the industries in the course of pricing the products, the process of industrial investment in the country will show down.

Engineer Ahmadpur said: By deciding on an appropriate and expert method in regard to determining the price of goods, in addition to supporting consumers, we will also provide the possibility for continuing production activities in order to increase the share of industry in the creation of added value and the gross national product.

Stating that "the policy of control of prices and production of goods must always be implemented by the government as a stratagem," he emphasized: In order to prevent profiteering and opportunism by some of the producers and distributors, the government must always have supervision over the distribution and sale of goods. But, in determining the price of goods, it must certainly use the participation of producers and distributors in order to determine and set the actual price of goods.

The director of the Industries Organization of the Foundation for the Oppressed and the Self-Sacrificers, in response to the question, "What are the factors in the increase in the price of products?" said: Among the factors that so far have had a significant role in the increase in the cost of goods by the production units is the increase in the price of general government services. For example, the cost of electricity in the factories producing goods this year increased by five times compared to last year. In addition, the cost of salaries and wages of workers also increased by 23 percent compared to the previous year.

Referring to the fact that the "selling price of raw materials is increasing every day," he added: With the increasing price of foreign currency, the price of raw materials needed by the production units also increases, and this has caused the level of cash flow that is needed for the operation of production units to increase several fold compared to previously.

He mentioned that another problem in pricing is that the level of profit for the distribution sector is not clear. He said: At the present time, in regard to the level of just profit for the goods distribution units at the wholesale and retail levels, there is no special definition.

The director of the Industries Organization of the Foundation for the Oppressed and Self-Sacrificers said in regard to the mechanism of goods distribution in the country: At the present time, the system of goods distribution in the country is not facing many problems. What causes problems every day is the shortage in the production and supply of some goods.

Stating that "the change in the mechanism of distribution from its present form to a centralized method and the creation of new chain stores for the distribution of goods does not solve the problem of the increase in prices," Engineer Ahmadpur said: The creation of new stores will have no other benefit than to increase current expenditures.

He emphasized: If the investment that is supposed to be spent on 1,000 new stores were spent on strengthening

production in the country, certainly the situation of production and supply of goods would improve in the future.

Then, stating that this year the production of cone sugar and sugar increased by 10 percent compared to the previous year in production units under the supervision of the foundation, Engineer Ahmadpur said: Last year, a total of 120,000 tons of cone sugar and sugar were produced by these units, and it is projected that this figure will reach 140,000 tons this year.

He mentioned the level of production of the textile industries and chemical industries of the foundation in the first six months of this year compared to a similar period last year as unchanged.

Stating that "the total for industrial units under the supervision of the Industries Organization of the Foundation last year was \$2.5 million," he added: This year, these units have exported about \$10 million worth of goods from the country.

Most Construction Done by Unskilled Workers

95LA0060F Tehran RESALAT in Persian 4 Dec 94 p 15

[Report on interview with Engineer Hoseyn Chavushi, deputy advisor on technology to the minister of housing and urban development, in Shahr-e Kordon, on 3 December 1994]

[FBIS Translated Text] IRNA. The deputy advisor on technology to the minister of housing and urban development said: The average useful life of buildings in the country is estimated to be between 10 and 15 years.

Engineer Hoseyn Chavushi added on Saturday in Shar-e Kord: Despite the short useful life of buildings in the country, 35-40 percent of the national investments in the country is spent on the housing and building sector.

He said: The low quality and lack of control over the quality of building construction wastes 9 percent of the material in the country in the reconstruction of worn-out buildings with short life spans.

He added: More than 90 percent of building construction in the country is done by nonexperts.

Engineer Chavushi said: Considering the standards in construction, such as control of quality, resistance of materials, and geological studies, the financial damages and casualties resulting from natural disasters can be prevented to a great extent.

Finance Minister on Oil Production, Statistics

95P50027A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 5 Dec 94 p 8

[FBIS Translated Text] Jeddah - Iranian Finance Minister Mr. Morteza Mohammad Khan stated that "the ratio of oil production to population in Iran has been affected in recent years by various factors. The most

important of these is that Iran's population has risen to more than 60 million, while petroleum production has not exceeded 3 million barrels per day. Moreover, production had been at about 6 million barrels per day when the population was at 30 million."

Morteza also said, in a meeting with AL-HAYAH in Jeddah, that this was one of the greatest factors influencing the Iranian economy, in addition to others. The most important of these factors are "America's position on Iran and world economic conditions in light of current oil prices." He added that "our economic programs five years after the end of the war are considered excellent, for our plants have resumed production." He indicated that the petrochemical plants currently are producing 4 million tons beyond the requirements of the country, which are estimated at 11 million tons. He said, "We produce 1.2 million tons of iron, while we had been importing 3 million tons during the war years. And we are also headed toward giving the private sector a leading role."

Total Iranian investments in the industrial and agricultural sectors in past years have been estimated at approximately \$107 billion. Agricultural production currently is at 57 million tons, that is, an increase of 12 million tons over the First Five-year Plan. The minister also stated that the Second Five-year Plan emphasizes privatization of the public sector.

Pakistan

Editorial Cites Spread of Perversion, Vulgarly

95AS0114E Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 18 Oct 94 p 3

[Editorial: "Flood of Indecency and Perversion"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Indecency and perversion are spreading like plague in our country. This has destroyed the integrity and character of our youth. Even innocent young children are becoming prey to impropriety. Good Muslims and patriotic circles are very worried and concerned about this situation. It appears that there is a conspiracy to trap Pakistanis into this curse so that this proud and brave people become useless and the zeal of jihad that they have in their hearts cools down. The world knows that Pakistani Muslims, despite their limited resources, are capable of fighting back an enemy many times stronger than them. India, Israel, and Western imperialist forces have been especially allergic to and afraid of Pakistan. Additionally, Pakistan has played an important role in waking up the Muslim world. Therefore, anti-Islamic and anti-Pakistani forces have started taking strategic action to poison Pakistani Muslims' minds. They have started to use our national resources to this end. Qazi Hussain Ahmed, leader of the Jamaat-i Islami, expressed concern over this situation and warned the nation against this conspiracy. While addressing the Friday meeting in Jamma Mansura, he said that indecency and perversion were being encouraged in our country under a plan. The wrong people are

in control of our nation's broadcast media. Poison is being spread in the society through an obscene program aired by the television and radio and this is destroying integrity and character of our youth.

Qazi Hussain Ahmed is trying to warn the nation with his statements. It would be a great tragedy if we do not rectify the problem of obscenity and perversion soon, and later the nation will be sorry. We cannot deny the fact that whenever a nation becomes shameless, the zeal for jihad cools down, it becomes cowardly, and is forced to bow down to the enemy. The Jews and Western powers used this strategy if achieving their infamous goals in the Middle East. They are experimenting with this formula in Pakistan now. The only effective way to stop this epidemic is for us to recognize our responsibilities as Muslims and use all our resources for spreading piety and suppressing sins. The people should not be disappointed with the present situation. We should be careful and cautious against the enemy's conspiracies and continue working for Islamic ardor in our country.

Opposition, Government Urged To Dialogue

95AS0115B Karachi AMN in Urdu 22 Oct 94 p 3

[Editorial: "The Opposition's Decision."]

[FBIS Translated Text] The supreme council of the united opposition party decided to postpone agitation against the government for four to six weeks and to adopt instead the policy of increasing pressure on the government from within the assembly. The opposition studied the question of presenting a no-confidence resolution against the government and decided to appoint a task force for the next stage of Tahrik-i-Nijat [salvation movement].

The opposition's decision is to be commended because of the fact that in the country as a whole and Sindh in particular incidents of terrorism, murder and plunder have increased. The property and lives of the urban dwellers of Sindh are not safe and the law and order situation has become serious. If in this situation the opposition had continued its agitation, it would have been accused of terrorism and plunder as well and disorder would have intensified. In the earlier columns, we accepted the right of the opposition to protest and are reiterating now that since the situation in Karachi is critical, it is necessary, before starting any agitation, to study what its consequences are likely to be; by its actions, the opposition did not subject the inhabitants of Karachi to a test and continued its agitation with dignity. By postponing its agitation program, the opposition has taken a positive step. Patriotic circles think that in spite of the high-handed actions of the government, the situation as a whole does not call for any extreme measures and that a collective national understanding is needed. The opposition is exercising its right when it suggests increasing pressure on the government from within the assembly and presents a resolution of no confidence. The united opposition should increase pressure within the

assembly rather than take to the streets. The united opposition party enjoys considerable power in the assembly and the government cannot ignore this fact. There is a difference of only 12 seats between the government and the opposition party which makes the opposition an effective power in the assembly. As for the no-confidence resolution against the government, the opposition has the right to call for such a vote and it is part of the democratic process; hence, the opposition should demonstrate its power in the assembly and not give the government the opportunity to do as it pleases. We would also suggest that the opposition concentrate on raising those issues for discussion which directly affect the people; they should nullify the government's efforts to sweep these problems under the rug and force it to face the issues. The people have placed this responsibility on the shoulders of both the government and the opposition but both sides are trying to shirk the task. The hope is that both the government and the opposition will behave honorably in the assembly and, laying aside personal power struggles, take an interest in the problems of the people.

Religion-Based Parties Said Uniting

95AS0116A Islamabad HURMAT in Urdu 23 Oct 94 p 41

[Article by Mohammed Unus Qureshi: "Religious Parties Are Uniting"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mian Nawaz Sharif is still continuing his Tehrik-i-Nijat (movement to remove the government) and his goal is not to rest until the Benazir government is removed, just like Benazir did not stop until Nawaz Sharif was not ousted. Ghulam Ishaq Khan was the president at that time and he was encouraging Benazir Bhutto and was using every trick to weaken the government at that time. Although there is not a president like Ghulam Ishaq Khan now, the Tehrik-i-Nijat movement has its effect. It is difficult to say with certainty as to what the results will be, however, intelligent people have begun to see that this confrontation will not have any good results. Instead, it will be extremely harmful. Continuing confrontations only bring Moeen Qureshi to the country. This pattern should stop now. The people have already seen the performance of both the Pakistan People's Party [PPP] and the Muslim League. Now the fortune of the nation and people will change only by the unity of our religious parties. In the past, the religious parties united and broke up under various conditions, however, the kind of unity that is forming now is unprecedented. The leaders of the religious parties, their members, and the people are disappointed in the two major parties, and it is high time for the religious parties to unite. The leaders, Allah be praised, are aware of it and all major and minor parties are sincere about uniting. The leaders of Jamaat-i-Islami [JI] Jumiati-i-Ulema-i-Islam, [JUI-F] Jumiati-i-Ulema-i-

Pakistan [JUI-P], Central Jumiat-i Al Hadas, Anjuman Sipah Suhaba [ASS], Mutahidda Ulema Council [MUC], Jumiat Ahal-i Sinnat, and Al-Jumait have seriously contacted each other. The time has come that all religious parties should unite and protect the country from those who are looting its treasury. During the talks among the leaders of the religious parties, this writer felt that the religious leadership now understands those who tried to keep the religious parties separate as well as their unholy goals. We understand that if they remove minor misunderstandings, religious parties can unite. Therefore, they are focusing on removing these misunderstandings. Qazi Hussain Ahmed, leader of the Jamaat-i Islami Pakistan, said that the two major parties are two major culprits—one bigger and the other smaller. The religious leadership is emerging now to counter them. Professor Khursheed Ahmed, deputy leader of the Jamaat-i Islami and member of the Upper House, told HURMAT that the atmosphere for unity was already there, but such a situation evolved that unity has become a must. We talked with the Jumiat-i Ulema-i Islam by telephone and were told that they had opposed the PPP from day one and they cannot support it. "However, because of Mian Nawaz Sharif's attitude we could not cooperate with him, either." Maulana Samiul Haq said that the time to unite and prepare for the next election has come. Allah willing we shall fight the next election as a team and end the rule of barbarous persons, looters, and oppressors. Expressing reaction on Mian Nawaz Sharif's appeal to the religious parties to join the Tehriq-i Nijat, he said that Mian Nawaz Sharif wanted to fly solo and he has realized that wish. Now he is appealing to the religious parties for support, however, the time has passed when our members raise slogans in his support. We have tried him and his Muslim League party and cannot waste the skills of our workers to bring him to power again. We will use our resources, power of our workers, and their combined skills for our own goals.

Senator Professor Sajid Mir, leader of the Central Jumiat Alhadas, said soon all the religious parties will gather on a common platform. He said that as long as those who follow religion and love it do not unite, the government system established by the British will continue and be the cause of creating problems for the people.

Maulana Azam Tariq, deputy leader of Sipah Suhaba and member of the National Assembly, told HURMAT that he did not expect respect from the Peoples Party since even the Muslim League has undermined the religious parties. He expressed regret that Nawaz Sharif had even stopped mentioning Islam. Now that the Tehriq-i-Nijat is weakening, he is appealing to the religious parties in the name of Islam to come help him. I am rejecting his appeal. We do not have to go far, only recently the Muslim League Senators opposed the Suhaba and Ahl-i Bit [religious rule] bill when presented in the Senate. We have decided that the religious parties must unite now and soon the nation will hear about this good news. Maulana Jalaluddin, the central leader of the Jumiat-i Ulema-i Islam and Maulana Fazalur Rehman's

trusted political advocate, told HURMAT that the Jumiat was ready to make every sacrifice for the unity of the religious parties. We will resign from the government if necessary. The leaders of Mutahidda Ulema Council, Jumiat-i Ahl-i Sinnat, Aljamait, and other parties told HURMAT that all religious parties will unite and work to bring prosperity and progress to the country. Sahabzada Mohammed Safaddar Gailani, central leader of the Jumiat-i Ulema-i Pakistan, said that the religious parties will unite and unite they must.

Incidents Involving F-16s Recounted

95AS0114C Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 23 Oct 94 p 1

[News Report: "F-16 Destroyed During Flight; the Fourth Such Incident Within Two Months"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sargodha (Mohammed Aslam Rana, JASARAT Correspondent)—An F-16 plane of the Pakistan Air Force blew up with a loud bang on Saturday noon. The debris from the crash fell on Chak Number 51, a suburb outside Sargodha. No one was killed or wounded. Pilot Diqar Ahmed sensed some problem in the plane and parachuted to safety. The plane blew up just as he jumped out and debris were spread over several miles. Officials of the PAF and high civilian and military officials reached the site when they learned of the accident. Orders have been given to investigate the accident. This is the fourth PAF plane accident in two months.

Christians Claimed Used in Anti-Islamic Conspiracy

95AS0114D Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 26 Oct 94 p 7

[Article by Mukhtar Hasan: "Conspiracy Using Pakistani Christians"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Christians in Pakistan have permission to consume alcohol. The government issues alcohol permits to Christians. During the 1977 Tehriq-i Nizam Mustafa [movement for an Islamic form of government], when Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was struggling to reduce the anger of the people against himself, he issued orders to have a holiday on Tuesday and ban drinking in order to give the impression that he supported Islamic demands. At that time, these ordinances had this clause that these restriction will not be imposed on the non-Muslims. Thus, the Christians got permission to use alcohol. This April 1977 restriction introduced Pakistani Christians to a new trade and that was to provide alcohol to Muslim drinkers. This system has spread so much during the last few years that even Christian women are involved in this alcohol business. This gave birth to several scandals. Although 99.9 percent of Pakistani Christian women, just like Pakistani Muslim women, have never tasted or even seen alcoholic beverages, permits for purchasing alcohol are issued in their names. Most of these women work as maids cleaning homes or

sweeping streets and even heaven does not know what the Pakistan alcohol Mafia is doing in their names.

However, all this is done by only a few members of the Christian community here who are the "alcohol Mafia." The Christian community has often expressed strong reaction to it and have said that Christian religion also forbids drinking. The alcohol permits for the Christians is a part of a criminal business. A significant number of the Christian men were introduced to the crime world because of the good income that these alcohol permits bring in. Some of these have joined this "underworld." This underworld in Pakistan is not like it was a quarter of a century ago. They have organized like a Mafia, have fancy shining offices, and carry mobile phones in their hands in addition to owning cars. Some of these Mafia people also decorate the faces of social welfare organizations.

This association with the underworld has broken the identification of character of which these Pakistan Christians were once proud of—less involvement in crime than the Muslims. The Pakistani Christian community is made up of the backward groups of the subcontinent that were exploited by the arrival of Hindu Aryans here [as published]. All their basic human rights were taken away and they were called "untouchables" and they were not allowed to touch anything [as published]. These people had joined the religious circle of the rulers during the British rule here but the British did not let the [untouchables] get any basic rights or improve their social status. The imperialists only used their fellow religious people for spying on their fellow citizens.

After independence, local Christians also had the opportunity to benefit from freedom. They reached high positions such as commanders in the Pakistani military. Even the chief justice of Pakistan's Supreme Court is a Christian. Chief Justice Cornelius and 1965 war hero Colonel Tressler (who later was appointed the station commander in Rawalpindi, the twin capital city, became the martial law administrator, and finally was appointed the chief of protocol in foreign ministry) are the products of the era when local Christians were making progress like the Muslims and achieving new heights.

This situation changed when the Christians were given special permission to drink alcoholic beverages. Ten or fifteen years after 1977, the Christian population in Pakistan got involved in the alcohol business because of cheating in alcohol permits. Many other incidents took place during that time including Pakistan becoming a "front line" country in the Afghan jihad against their communist rulers. At that time, many organizations from Western nations took part in the welfare work for the Afghan mujaheddin. These included both government and private organizations including Christian missionaries. All these had to open offices and hire staff to run them in order to maintain their activities in Afghanistan. It was natural for the Christian missionaries to come in contact with the local Christians. Thus, the local

Christians expanded their relations with Western missionaries, private organizations, and even Western embassies.

The success of the Afghan jihad proved Islam to be a powerful, living, and dynamic force. Its influence is not limited to the Muslim world. This was the situation in which the Christians missionaries in this region changed their approach after 150 years. Their goal became to keep existing Christians in the religion instead of converting new Christians. After they were finished with the Afghanistan problem, the Christian missionaries and non-government agencies occupied themselves in the task of improving the lot of Christians here. They started the basic effort of moving them from janitorial work to other occupations. However, a strange phenomenon developed: As time passed, some political aspects of this efforts began to emerge. The question evolved from the cutting off of Pakistani Christians from the general Pakistani society and economy to a confrontational situation.

This was seen in the accusation and events of insulting the prophet in Punjab resulting in the death of one person. It appeared that the goal of the foreign Christians and their NGO sponsors was to keep the Christian population in Pakistan in a permanent confrontation with the majority Muslim population. They convinced some simple and gullible persons as well as educated people and those who were greedy for money that the Christians in Pakistan can be "protected" only this way. This is a major conspiracy in which the NGOs and foreign Christian missionaries are involved on the surface. However, some Western nations are involved from behind the scenes. Since Western missionaries and other organizations usually operate from India, therefore, it would not be surprising if India is also involved in it.

The capitalist colonists of the West, after the fall of Communism, have declared Islamic ideology and Muslims to be their "new enemy." This Western colonist is not "Christian," it is the White race. Why was no progress made in Africa after converting one-third of its population to Christianity? Why did Blacks in South Africa had to suffer slavery for 350 years even after they had embraced the White man's religion, Christianity? Christianity does not represent the West; it is just the weapon for colonization. Now the West has decided to use this weapon against its new enemy in a new way.

This situation is prevalent not only in Pakistan but also in Egypt, the heart of the Arab world, where Christians who make up only three or four percent of the total population have been pitted against their fellow Muslims permanently. About three years ago, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC, which is as important as The ECONOMIST magazine, published a very good investigative article with very effective photographs on the Egyptian tribes. NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC is considered the best magazine because of its photographs which it publishes with researched articles. Referring to "churches built

with mud," this article tried to explain tribal Christians who had managed to keep their identity despite living in difficult situation among the majority Muslims for centuries. Actually, these tribal Christians have been living with the Muslims for 1,400 years with full freedom, and this is a living proof of Islam's tolerance. Anyhow, his story about mud churches and the bravery of tribal Egyptians was the start of confrontation between the tribal Christians and majority Muslims. The "charitable" and missionary organizations of the West then focused on it. Sending Botrus Ghali, who is a tribal Christian, to the high position of UN Secretary General was part of the effort to provide moral and political support to the Egyptian Christians.

In Pakistan, under such a strategy, they are establishing leadership on the simple Pakistani Christians who oppose the Muslim majority. At the same time, they will represent various organizations that exist on paper only and participate in any demand or demonstration that is against the feeling of the Muslim majority. The former Pakistani communists have taken refuge with the Americans under the guise of secularism. The United States has given them this duty. These very people recently demonstrated against the "religious fanaticism" from Liaquat Bagh to Mazed Hasan Bridge, the busiest avenue in Rawalpindi which is the twin city to our capital. This was the first event of its type. However, the sad truth is that in this demonstration against "religious fanaticism," except for half a dozen "Muslim secular liberals," all participants were Christians and most of the "paper organizations" also represented them. This is the beginning of the effort to keep the confrontation between our 1 percent Christians against 97 percent Muslims alive and take it to the capital.

The United States wants to spread different kind of unrest in Pakistan, an important Islamic country which has the unique honor of being associated with a special article of American law called the Pressler amendment. One of these approaches is to maintain confrontation between the Christian population and the Muslim majority. The unusual interest of the U.S. government in Pakistani law about the Prophet is part of this.

The part of the Christian community in Pakistan that opposes alcohol permits for the Christians and considers it against its religion and a stigma on their community should come out in front. The strategists in the Muslim community should also check on this foreign conspiracy. They should free the fellow citizens who are Christians from the clutches of this conspiracy and the greed of handful of greedy persons who are playing into the hands of foreigners. They must ensure that our Christian citizens do not become prey to these conspiracies.

New Policy Urged in Sindh

95AS0115A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 27 Oct 94 p 5

[Editorial: "Sindh Operation Quagmire, Need for the Right Decision"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The military operation has been in progress in Sindh for more than two years. Its aim is to end urban terrorism, lawlessness and crime, restore law and order and protect the lives of citizens. At the outset, the time needed to achieve these aims was said to be a few months and it would have been possible to achieve the objectives in that period of time if the work had been carried out with sincerity and goodwill and if politics had not been allowed to intrude. Unfortunately, the governments in office tried to achieve their political aims through the military operation. It started in Karachi on 19 June, 1992, when Sayed Muzaffar Hussain Shah was Sindh's chief minister. During the interim government, he was succeeded by Sayed Ali Madad Shah and the military operation continued during his term of office. Now that Sayed Abdullah Shah is the chief minister, the need continues for military support in the restoration of law and order in Karachi. The deadline for ending the operation continues to be extended. The People's Party regarded the past two governments as undemocratic and unrepresentative; however, it is surprising that the present provincial government also insists on keeping the army in Sindh to continue the clean-up operation in Karachi. The Big Three troika, namely, President Leghari, Prime Minister Bhutto and Army General Abdul Wahid Khan, who met Tuesday in Islamabad, decided to extend the army's stay in Sindh for an unspecified period of time.

The question is, how long will the army act as a crutch for the civil administration and the government. Since the army has not been able to restore law and order in Karachi in the last two years, [it stands to reason] that it will not be able to do so in the next few months. If the Sindh government is sincere and serious in its efforts to restore law and order in Karachi, then it should try to solve the problem politically. The government's wrong approach is proving harmful to the army's prestige and could injure the army's impartiality and good name. Retaining the army for a long time as a crutch for the civil administration and the police creates a blot on the army's performance and complaints in this regard are already being received. We consider unwise the decision to prolong the army's stay in Sindh. The government must certainly be aware that voices are being raised in the international arena against Pakistan in regard to human rights [violations]. If the restoration of law and order by the army is used as a pretext to surround and search homes, then further ignominy will result and forces inimical to Pakistan will be able to take advantage of the opportunity. It is thus preferable that the government seek political solutions for the problems of Sindh and Karachi. It is well known that certain political parties and organizations have had a hand in creating the law and order problem. At present there is a democratic and elected government in Sindh which enjoys the full support of the assembly's majority. If the problem cannot be solved under such [favorable] conditions, then when can it be solved? The authorities and political leaders should pay serious attention to the issue.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Alam Beg Proposal for New Party Ridiculed

95AS0115D Islamabad HURMAT in Urdu 27 Oct 94 p 6

[Editorial: "General Aslam Beg's New Political Party!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Former chief of staff of the land forces, General Mirza Aslam Beg, announced his resignation from the Muslim League [PML] (J) and his decision to form a new political party. He will formally announce to the nation the formation of the party after the administrative framework is completed. We are sure that after his retirement from the army, the General must have given considerable thought to his participation in politics and studied the various aspects of political parties before starting his new career. His decision to bid farewell to the Muslim League (J) must also have been made after careful thought. The participation in politics of a sagacious and capable general such as Mirza Aslam Beg is an unfortunate event for the country. Though we acknowledge his administrative and military capabilities, we nevertheless cannot support his decision to form a new political party. Pakistan already has so many political parties that there appears to be no need for any more parties. With the exception of a few parties, the members of the majority of the political parties and organizations come and go like taxi fares. As for their political performance, it is hard to say if they have any. The unnatural proliferation of new political parties is due to the fact that every individual who enters the political arena imagines himself to be a national leader and refuses to join any party unless offered the top position. One cannot understand why Pakistan's so called prominent personalities refuse to move forward in unison and tolerate each other. This inability of theirs has created a regrettable situation in which each individual wants to go his own way. Political leaders should develop the habit of thinking in terms of the political stability and interests of the country. They should realize that the creation of many parties is reducing the aim of national unity to a pipe dream.

We are certain that General Aslam Beg's new political party will not be able to accomplish any notable deed in the present disturbed political conditions in Pakistan. We are even afraid that he and his proposed party may become a laughing stock as has happened to certain former military officers. Hence we implore the General to rethink his decision.

Government Economic Performance Reviewed

95AS0112B Karachi JANG in Urdu 28 Oct 94 p IV

[Article by Muhammad Ibrahim: "Review of the First Year Economic Performance of the Government"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Allah has provided Pakistan with unlimited natural resources, still a former prime minister of Pakistan went as far as to say that the future of this country does not look good. The economic and social situation in the country is not satisfactory and

financially it is becoming insolvent. Because of this situation, the caretaker government had agreed to accept very strict conditions of international financial organizations when it borrowed 106 billion rupees. At that time, we had only 240 million rupees in foreign exchange reserve. Increase in the burden of foreign debts, taking out more foreign loans for payment of interest on the already existing foreign loans, increase in cost of living, inflation, increase in deficit, and the tendency of excessive increase in government expenses was the economic situation that was challenging the newly elected government. We are reviewing the government's actions it took to deal with this situation during the last year.

Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto had told the nation in her first address that the government had decided to establish a cell to increase the foreign exchange reserve and encourage exports. The foreign exchange reserve had dilapidated to 240 million rupees in October 1993. According to a State Bank report published on 28 October 1994, the foreign exchange reserve had increased to 2.310 billion rupees at the end of June 1994. According to this report, there was no change in export, but imports were reduced significantly. As a result, the 1992-93 trade deficit of \$3.3 billion rupees was reduced to \$1.5 billion in 1993-94. If we look at the trend of balance of payment deficit, we will find that it had increased rapidly each year. In 1948-49, the deficit was only 630 million rupees which went up to 1.63 billion rupees in 1960-61. In 1975-76, we saw the record deficit of 920 million rupees. A decade later, in 1985-86, the deficit had risen up to 41.350 billion rupees. The deficit of \$2.2 billion in 1992-93 and of \$3.3 billion on 1993-94 has gone down to \$1.5 billion now. This gave a major turn to the 47 year trend of increasing deficits. For the first time in Pakistan's economic history, instead of increase in balance of payment deficit, there was a 50 percent decrease! This change in balance of payment shows the success of our government's economic policy.

The government did take various steps to achieve the goal of \$12 billion for exports it had set. These efforts included setting up a task force and trade pacts signed with Iran, Turkey, China, North Korea and other countries during the prime minister's visits there. Still, exports are at the same rate as before. The government has set \$7.75 billion goal for exports for the 1994-95 year to make up for the loss of last year. Perhaps, this goal will not be reached because of damage to the cotton crop. The government must take some serious steps to increase exports.

One reason for the lack of increase in export trade is that export trade is not very beneficial despite 50 percent reduction in export duty. Additionally, the import costs increased by 10 percent because of devaluation of the rupee. Our industrial exports depend on imports because we produce items for export from the imported items. In addition to this all, the government has increased taxes on fuel and energy resulting in the cost of export items. This has made it impossible to compete in the international market.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

The former government had borrowed 64 billion rupees from banks in 1992-93 to meet the budget expenses. Compared to this, only 13 billions were borrowed in 1993-94. This was definitely made possible by cutting government expenses. The present government had announced radical cuts in federal and state government expenditures. The grants given to states had the condition that the national treasury would not be wasted. That is why only 13 billion rupees are 80 percent less than the 64 billion rupees borrowed in 1992-93 were needed last year. This shows successful efforts by the government to reduce unnecessary spending.

If we review the budget looking at the government's economic efficiency, we will find that the most important part of the budget is implementation of general sales tax. This has effected every person. We cannot call this a welfare budget. The businessmen had reacted very strongly when this budget was announced and the relationship between the government and the business community was badly strained. The treasury secretary adopted a very strong stance, however, the government changed its attitude on 30 June and suspended sales tax on 310 items for two months. The government also announced its decision to free arrested businessmen and dismiss cases registered against them. The traders and industrialists play an important role in a country's economy. This confrontation with the businessmen and industrialists has proven detrimental to the government. On 11 October 1994, the president of industrialists and traders union announced that they will go on a strike if the government did not accept their demands and changed its economic policies. He said that imposition of sales tax on 277 items has increased prices to serious level. Thus, it is clear that the government has failed in improving its relations with traders and industrialists, and could not control price increases also.

As for the burden of foreign debt on Pakistan, it is a fact that this burden is increasing daily. Pakistan is considered one of the 25 most indebted nations in the world now. In 1992-93, Pakistan's loan and interest payment was 100 billion rupees. In the budget presented in June 1994, the amount for loan payment is said to be 136 billion rupees, which is 35 percent of our total budget. This is a danger signal for the present government. The governor of the State Bank has revealed that Pakistan is being forced to take out long-term loans for huge amounts to import necessary item and for paying loan installments. He warned that Pakistan has reached its limits for paying debts and interests and is in no position to pay any more interest. Therefore, we must avoid taking out foreign loans and paying interests on them. During the next two or three years, one billion dollars will be spent to encourage foreign investments.

The government is giving a lot of importance to foreign investment because of this situation. Foreign investment is being encouraged in other countries also. The major goal of the Clinton administration is to have India and Pakistan agree on stopping their nuclear programs. It has

not succeeded in this effort. Now the United States has a smarter plan and Miss O'Leary, U.S. Secretary of Energy, came to Pakistan on 22 September and 16 agreements worth \$16 billion between the United States and Pakistan were signed on 24 September.

Had the United States made agreements in another area, there would not have been so much misgiving and suspicion. The power generated by nuclear power plants is very cheap in Pakistan. However, Pakistan, which is a backward nation, was not allowed to take advantage of this modern and comparatively cheaper medium for producing electricity.

Economic, Financial Reforms Praised

95AS0114A Peshawar MASHRIQ in Urdu 28 Oct 94 p 7

[Editorial: "The Economic & Financial Miracle of the Benazir Government"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The first year of Madam Benazir Bhutto's government will be unique in that the opposition never let the government rest even for one day. Despite this the government implemented such economic reforms and took such steps that investors from all over the world are running toward Pakistan to invest money in various developmental projects. There have been such huge government pacts that are unprecedented in any other third world country. That is why even an average man now can get oil, gas, electricity, and telephone. We also see startup of major developmental projects in ports and construction of roads. These will make our country prosperous in the next three-four years and will provide employment to lakhs of technically trained persons.

Asif Ali Zardari, member of the National Assembly, told us on his return from his successful trips to South Korea and Hong Kong that the investors in these two countries have signed 18 agreements to invest \$4.5 billion in Pakistan. These agreements will be implemented during this year. The agreements whose details were revealed include a plan to start making newsprint in Pakistan for the first time. This will cost \$170 million and our newspaper and publishing industries will get rid of the persisting problem of importing newsprint. Additionally, machinery to make shoes will be installed. Other plans include plants for processing dairy products, fruits, making hydrogen peroxide, a 144-megawatts power plant, tin plant, an auto factory to make 15,000 cars annually, coal plant, air conditioners plant, power generation plants—one 500-megawatts and another 200-megawatts, a 660-megawatts thermal power plant, a deep water port, plan for an oil refinery, plans for hydroelectricity power plants, another 200-megawatts thermal power plant, and paper products plant.

From these details, one can say that for the first time such major developmental work is being started in Pakistan. This was Mr. Asif Zardari's first trip to South

Korea. There were 70 persons in his deputation. Mian Nawaz Sharif, the opposition leader, is still saying that after what happened to his motorway plan, even a developing country much less South Korea would be willing to invest any money in Pakistan. He should stop from this baseless accusation after he learns that the company that was contracted for building the motorway has signed agreement with the government to invest at large scale. The Benazir government has achieved in one year what no other government could achieve in the past. Mr. Asif Ali Zardari is correct in saying that Pakistan will become a mini tiger of Asia in the industrial area very soon.

A large number of people had voted for Mian Nawaz Sharif and his party in October 1993 because he belongs to a prominent business and industrialist family and was thought to attract investors from all over the world to establish industries in Pakistan. Nawaz Sharif had made many promises to make Pakistan the tiger of Asia during his three years in government, however, what happened was that his family increased its ownership from one or two factories to about two dozen factories. Some of his associates got the opportunity to loot our national resources mercilessly. Not even a penny was invested in our country and he made some false promises of investment of two or three billion dollars.

The present government, on the other hand, reviewed the solid work done by the caretaker prime minister Moeen Qureshi, which showed that the country was on the brink of insolvency. The influential members of the ruling group had devoured billions of rupees from national banks and other financial organization. They were cheating on taxes worth billions of rupees. The Benazir government accelerated the task of recovering loans, taxes and other government properties, made the State Bank independent to an extent, cleaned up the private sector, avoided deficit spending and implemented solid financial plans in its first budget, and implemented the "one-fund" for helping investors. As the result of these steps, the faith of international financial organizations was reinstated and they freed the loans issued to Pakistan that were frozen before and admitted to Pakistan's economic and financial stability. This had a very beneficial and had positive effect on investors all over the world. During that time, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto visited our traditional friendly nations and persuaded them to make mutually beneficial deals with Pakistan. The result of all these efforts is the flood of investments coming to Pakistan. Calling this welcome and revolutionary change, golden chains of a new East India Company is simply a demonstration of ignorance and narrow-mindedness. The start of foreign investment and import of technology will not mortgage Pakistan to foreigners; instead it will help us get rid of foreign debts permanently. Everyone should acknowledge this with an open mind.

Mumtaz Bhutto Opposition to New Province Criticized

95AS0116D Karachi AMN in Urdu 1 Nov 94 p 3

[Article by Ikhtlaq Farooqi: "Mumtaz Bhutto and the New Province"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Mumtaz Bhutto is known as a Sindhi politician. Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the founder of the Pakistan People's Party [PPP], used to call him his talented cousin. Mr. Mumtaz Bhutto was also the chief minister of Sindh and federal minister of communication. However, when Benazir Bhutto came to power, she got rid of him like her other uncles. Since then Mr. Mumtaz Bhutto has been involved in various political acrobatics, but has failed to make a place for himself either in Sindh or in national politics. He had formed the Sindhi-Baluch-Pashtoon Front with the help of political ally Hafiz Pirzada. This front demanded that Pakistan be made a confederation of states since the present federation is unable to solve issues. After establishing this front, he continued to support a confederation. Its philosophy was to accept the present Pakistani provinces as independent units and that a confederation be formed of them. Each independent province would have the right to separate itself and become an independent country. Obviously, no patriotic Pakistani would accept this confederate system. Thus, even revolutionaries and socialists in Sindh, Balochistan, and Sarhad did not like this system. Finally, the plan for a confederation was dropped and Mr. Mumtaz Bhutto formed Sindh National Front which replaced the Sindhi-Baluch-Pashtoon Front. He wanted the Sindhis to unite under this new flag. However, regional politics never could get support in Sindh. In addition, the people still love the late Mr. Bhutto and they were still supporting the PPP. Therefore, The Sindh National Front could not get any support. One other reason for this front not becoming popular was that Sindhi farmers, laborers, and students did not like Mr. Mumtaz Bhutto's past. The Sindhis also opposed "ministrycracy" to a great extent and they call Mr. Mumtaz Bhutto a ten-headed leader. Mr. Mumtaz Bhutto's relationship with Mr. [Zulfiqar Ali] Bhutto has its own place, however, he could never adopt a style of popular politics at any time. Everyone is aware of his being a wadera [powerful man] and he could not make a place among the poor Sindhi people.

When the talk about a new province in Sindh started, Mr. Mumtaz Bhutto tried to decorate his political shop with ethnic and regional slogans and endeavored to get the support of Sindhis by adopting emotional politics. However, he forgot that negative politics never have solid results. He says that he will not allow Sindh's division at any cost and is busy spewing poison against the Mohajirs these days.

It is surprising that Mr. Mumtaz Bhutto advocated dividing Pakistan into four independent states but is not willing to divide Sindh into two provinces! He practices factional politics and has accepted Saraiki speakers in

Punjab as a separate group. The Awami National Party [ANP] also recognizes the Saraiki people. Even the PPP has never opposed forming a Saraiki state. If the Saraikis are recognized as a separate group for a separate province, then Punjab would be divided into two parts—Punjab and Saraiki province. Against this background, one would say that Mr. Mumtaz Bhutto supports dividing Punjab into two provinces and now his stand is that Sindh is sacred and he would fight with his life if efforts are made to divide it into two provinces. If he considers Sindh sacred and that it cannot be divided into two provinces, is not Punjab sacred too? Why was Mumtaz Bhutto demanding to divide it into two provinces?

If Sindh is sacred and it cannot be divided into two provinces, Does Mumtaz Bhutto consider Pakistan to be not sacred? Why did he demand that Pakistan be divided into four parts under his confederation demand?

The Pashtoons living in Balochistan have been demanding that a new province composed of Pashtoon areas in Balochistan be formed under the name of Southern Pashtoonkhwah province. The Sindhi politicians who are opposing Sindh's partition into two provinces should tell us if Balochistan is not sacred. If it is sacred, why did they not oppose division of Balochistan? This is clearly politics of discrimination.

It is all right to raise slogans to divide Pakistan into four independent provinces and form a confederation, form a new Saraiki province in Punjab, not to oppose dividing Balochistan into two provinces; however, when a demand to form a new state in Sindh because of political and educational exploitation is made, then they will say that they will sacrifice their lives to stop Sindh's partition. The fact is that the persons who are opposing a new province in Sindh are the same as those who exploited the Sindhi urban population and want to keep their political and economic monopoly over it. If they believed in equal rights and justice, they would have come forward and helped those who are demanding a new province. They would have won their confidence and told them that they are willing to cooperate with them and help them stop their political and economic exploitation. Therefore, please give up this demand for a new province. However, the kind of linguistic, ethnic, and regional prejudices they have demonstrated have only made the suspicions prevalent in urban areas much stronger. They are convinced that there is no other alternative but to form a new province. The Sindhi politicians have lost a golden opportunity to unite people and have them work together. They are not willing to accept political, economic, and educational rights of other groups. If they change their negative thinking even now, it will not be difficult to spread peace, love, and unity in Sindh. They should understand the fact that the Muhajirs did not accept slavery to the British or the Hindus, and they will not accept slavery to any one else either.

MQM Leader Call for New Province Criticized

95ASG114B Peshawar MASHRIQ in Urdu 1 Nov 94 p 8

[Editorial: "Altaf Hussain's Strategy to Support a Mohajir Province"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The argument that Mohajir Quami Movement [MQM] leader Altaf Hussain has supported the demand for a separate province has acted like "oil on fire." He has been talking about dividing up Sindh for the last few weeks and is presenting the argument that there is no future for the Urdu-speaking Muhajirs in Sindh, therefore, they are right in demanding a separate state. In a detailed interview given to a national daily he said that if the demand for a separate state is suppressed with gun powder then only Allah can help. Altaf Hussain's statements reminds us of East Pakistan's Maulana Bhashani's speech in which he had said goodbye to West Pakistan.

Allah forbid our politicians in their ignorance or for some hidden agenda of their own make mistakes that might help the Mohajir province demand like those that caused the fall of East Pakistan. Professor Ghafur Ahmed has warned after reviewing the present situation that the division of Sindh will lead to the break-up of Pakistan. We are requesting the MQM leader to give up his talk of power and warnings. He is giving the impression in each of his statements that the Urdu-speaking Muhajirs in Sindh are suffering some great catastrophe.

No doubt there are incidents of lawlessness and terrorism in Sindh, however, we cannot use these embarrassing incidents for demanding a separate state. The two MQM factions are the one who are mostly involved in these murder and destruction activities. The armed terrorists within various factions are targeting not only life and property of their rivals but also their religious sites including mosques. Taking advantage of this environment of terrorism, agents of Indian Intelligence [RAW] and other criminals have also entered this arena and are acting at will. When law enforcement agencies take action against them, their cars are burned and the young officers are murdered. Of course, this shameful situation cannot be used for demanding a separate province. Everyone living in Sindh—Muhajirs, Punjabis, Sindhis, Pashtoons, and Baluchis—are becoming targets of these atrocities. These outrage is not being committed by state authorities, but by various factionalists, or RAW agents and common criminals. Therefore, when Altaf Hussain threatens that he will reach a point of no return if these atrocities are not stopped, we do not know who he is threatening. Much more abominations occurred during Jam-i-Sadiq's time when the MQM was a partner in power. Still more atrocities were committed during martial law. Even the memory of those days makes one tremble. What is needed is to have leaders of all the factional and cultural groups sit down together and discuss their differences. Those who speak Urdu, Sindhis, Punjabis, and Baluchis have to live together in this country. Similarly, members of various factions are

the children of this same nation. Instead of being sacrificed to the fire of prejudice, they should look for a formula for living together. This is not difficult. If one's conscience is clear, any difference can be resolved through talks.

U.S. Investment Seen Risky, Threatening

95AS0116C Karachi AMN in Urdu 3 Nov 94 p 3

[Article by Al Muhammad Raza: "U.S. Investment or Control?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The political confrontation that has been going on between the Pakistan People's Party [PPP] government and Nawaz Sharif's Muslim League [PML-N] has become more intense during the last few months. Both parties are using far-fetched methods to undermine each other. The situation that has emerged as the result of this confrontation does not make it hard to make assumptions about the future. No doubt, both parties have deep ideological and philosophical conflicts. However, these conflicts and differences do not mean that in their hunger for power either the ruling party or opposition leader Mian Nawaz Sharif should gamble on our nation's unity. Every patriotic Pakistani and every rational thinker is watching the actions of both parties be it Nawaz Sharif's statement about making atomic bombs or the WASHINGTON POST interview in which Nawaz Sharif said that then army chief of staff, Mirza Aslam Beg, and Inter-Services Intelligence [ISI] chief Major General Asad Durrani had presented him with a plan for smuggling drugs and using the money for some secret projects. Such statements and accusations will not help Pakistan. Similarly, investment by the U.S. investors is very harmful for Pakistan. We wonder if history is repeating itself. The East India Company started to interfere in regional politics because of the fall of the Mogul dynasty and mutual fighting among the local rulers and was trying to takeover power under the guise of trade. It succeeded in its evil goals by deceptions. Emperor Farakh Mir, the imprudent Mogul ruler of the subcontinent, literally made the British the owners of whole Bengal for a paltry amount of 3,000 rupees. The British slowly got the Hindus to support them against the Muslims and became the rulers of the whole subcontinent. Thus, the people of this subcontinent had to wear the yoke of slavery for 200 years. Despite the U.S. enmity toward Pakistan, inviting U.S. investors to invest in Pakistan means either flattering the United States or bribing it in order to keep hold on power. Hazel O'Leary, U.S. Secretary of Energy, stated that Pakistan will be flooded with U.S. investments. We fear that Pakistan's independence might be swept away in this flood as we always suspect the U.S. intentions and it is not good for our nation's safety to trust the United States. Even at the time of Dhaka's fall, its 6th Fleet did not come to our help. Is O'Leary recommending repealing the Pressler amendment to her government while she is paying way for the U.S. investors to invest in Pakistan? Because of the facts listed below, we do not consider U.S. investors' investment in Pakistan to be a good omen.

Pakistan is a criminal in the eyes of the United States because it wants to make atomic bombs and the Pressler amendment was passed because of it. Pakistan has repeatedly denied this allegation and has assured of using its nuclear program for peaceful purposes. The U.S. government, however, has not excused it from this allegation. Why, then, is this investment being considered at government levels?

The cost of producing thermal power in our country is between 60 to 90 paise per unit. The PPP government is planning to further crush the people already harassed by high prices by agreeing to purchase electric power at two rupees per unit from the U.S. investors.

The two agreements on oil and gas exploration worth \$275 million that O'Leary has signed and the tribute she to paid to Benazir Bhutto cannot be easily ignored.

Dr. Mubashar Hasan, the former PPP finance minister, has called this agreement a fraud against the Pakistani government and accused the present government of over-investing in these projects for kickbacks by \$1.4 billion (about 42 billion rupees).

A similar statement was made by Mr. Sartaj Aziz. He told the newsmen that the government was putting an unbearable burden on the people by agreeing to pay two rupees per unit for electricity.

According to the agreement, the total production from these projects will be 3498 megawatts and the total cost for these is \$3.5 billion. Compared to this, the international market rates for 3498 megawatts electricity is only \$2.1 billion. In a poor country, where poverty, high prices, and unemployment is on the rise, spending an additional \$1.4 billion is not understandable. This additional amount is a kind of commission that our government is paying to the U.S. investors to keep the U.S. government happy.

The government should utilize the experience of our experts and engineers by providing them with appropriate facilities and equipment to produce cheap electric power here.

The government should discuss the electric power issue with Great Britain, France, and Germany in addition to the United States and ask for quotes.

The government should start Kala Bagh Dam, the Bhasha Dam, and other hydro projects keeping national interest above regional interests in mind. According to experts, Hydroelectricity is much cheaper. We should keep the interests of our own people above that of the United States. Permitting the U.S. investors to invest in Pakistan is risking Pakistan's existence. We must keep the dichotomous role of the United States in mind. It is opposed to nuclear weapons, but at the same time, wherever there is a war, U.S. weapons are seen there, and it is the world's greatest atomic power as well.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

The United States cannot see the aggression of Serbs and nor the Indian atrocities being committed in Kashmir. It remains silent in front of the armed forces of the Serbs, Israel, and India. It does, however, see fundamentalists and Muslim terrorists in other places.

We see the same deception in this agreement that 300 years ago East India Company's devious traders had envisioned. This agreement is like crushing the poor people of Pakistan. They are being punished for being antagonistic toward the United States.

The government should call a meeting of economic experts to discuss this and ask for their opinion on this agreement. If the majority of these experts do not like this agreement, it should cancel it instead of making it an issue of ego. It should give up the beggars bowl that the United States is forcing in the hands of Pakistani people. Not much harm is done yet and there is time to return. We hope that Benazir Bhutto is not accused of selling Pakistan to the United States of America just like her father Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was accused of losing East Pakistan. We hope that she read the writing on the wall and will make the decision in favor of Pakistan.

U.S. Investments Said 'Fraudulent'

95AS0116B Karachi TAKBEER in Urdu 3 Nov 94 p 25

[Article by Ashraf Qureshi: "Billion Dollar U.S. Investment: Billion Dollar Fraud"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As the truth about U.S. investment in the energy area that the Benazir government has been bragging about comes out, it appears that it is not a billion dollar investment, but a billion dollar fraud. Among those who took part in this drama of the biggest fraud of this century, the role of the caretaker Prime Minister Moeen Qureshi, who is also deputy to the World Bank President McNamara, is most prominent. The role that the World Bank plays in protecting the interests of the United States and the Western world is absolutely clear. In a situation when the president of this international organization has already done diplomatic duty in India and has been proved to be related to the CIA, only a fool will believe that this international organization is interested in sincerely helping Pakistan.

In addition to Moeen Qureshi, there are high-level Pakistani officials who have recently visited the United States who are playing important roles in this drama. Dr. Maliha Lodhi, the Pakistani ambassador in Washington, played an important role in getting them together and providing them with a stage. All details were secretly negotiated with the World Bank for this drama. Then they looked around for a company and Hubco, which they liked, was selected. Hubco is registered in the West Indies and only fraudulent companies are registered in the West Indies. After all details were worked out with this company in secret, an agreement with the World Bank was signed in the Pakistani embassy on 16th September. Many major investment companies in the

United States also got wind of this secret negotiation and began to wait for announcement for tenders for various projects. However, the government of Pakistan, the World Bank, and the embassy was not willing to tell them anything. As soon as the agreement with the World Bank was signed, these companies again began to wait for calls for tenders. However, no information was given to them as the deal with Hubco was already made. All work was done secretly and some so-called U.S. investors were selected. The only proof of their being U.S. investors is that they hold U.S. passports. There is no proof of their being investors. They were brought to Islamabad and agreements for completing 16 projects were signed on 24 September—only 10 days after the agreement with the World Bank was signed. Afterwards, the propaganda about U.S. investment was broadcast. Meanwhile, U.S. investment companies that were waiting for the open tender notices were surprised how 16 contracts were signed without any public call for tenders. They were amazed again a week later when they saw the tender notice in the October issue of FOREIGN TRADE. Some of these companies are thinking about filing law suits. However, some companies say that it would be better to stay out of this alleged investment. It was learned during a talk with a representative of one of these companies that the real contract under this plan has been given to Hubco which is not dependable. Other companies will have only sub contracts or supply parts. The World Bank loan is only for purchasing machinery and will be a paper loan only. These dollars will not reach Pakistan, and will remain here to pay for the machinery. This representative said about the machinery that thermal power generation has been given up all over the world, and the United States has stopped it for a long time. There is a lot of such useless machinery sitting around here which will be bought along with some new machinery. This representative also told us that many aspects of this whole plans are still in the dark. He brought the attention of Pakistani people to one specific point. The government of Pakistan is responsible for the World Bank loan as made clear in the last paragraph of the news release issued by the Pakistani embassy that this loan is due in 20 years. The World Bank will charge interest on it depending on the market rate. While these investors will make profit on this investment, how will the government return the principle? Of course, it will have to get the money from the people while the investors make the profit!

This representative said that the Pakistani government is duping us when it makes noise about investments coming from Hong Kong or talks about the arrival of investors from England. These investors are just going to fill the gaps left by this plan and not invest in a new project. In addition, these plans were for \$4.47 billion in the beginning and was curtailed to \$4 billion later. The real beneficial portions of the plan have been eliminated. The government has given the impression in the newspapers that this plan will be completed in 1997 while the

World Bank tender notice indicates that it will be finished in 1999. Which one is correct?

'Terrorists' Said to Roam Freely in Karachi

95AS0114F Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 3 Nov 94 p 3

[Editorial: "The Public is Dying Instead of Terrorists"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The resent wave of terrorism and murders in Karachi has spread waves of fear and apprehension. Every person has this question on his tongue: What turn will this situation of lawlessness and criminal activities take and what will happen? The incident in Liaqatabad was horrifying in which six persons were mercilessly shot down by the terrorists. This incident took place in the area where a new days ago weapons were confiscated after searching every home. After this incident, on Tuesday, there was reckless firing in Baldia Town. The law enforcement agencies had to finally take action. They surrounded the area and arrested 180 persons. The situation is so bad that even during the police action, the area was ringing with the sound of firings. Other incidents of crime also took place. The life in this city is badly effected because of the increasing lawlessness and all business activities are at a stand still. The president of the Pakistan Federation of Commerce and Industries has expressed distress at this state of affairs and said that the deteriorating law and order situation in Karachi has stopped all commercial and industrial activities. The Industrialists and traders are being cautious and avoiding doing any business. Afaq Ahmed, chairman of the Mohajir Quami Movement [MQM]-Haqiqi, has demanded that a session of the National Assembly be called to discuss the situation in Karachi. Similarly, the MQM-Altaf Rabita Committee has also expressed concern over the situation in Karachi. The Rabita Committee accused that the members of some agencies were killing MQM (Altaf) and MQM (Haqiqi) workers and this genocide of Mohajirs was taking place with government support.

The Committee also believes that the real killers were being protected by calling all these killings the result of factional fighting. These accusations are very serious. In addition to the MQM Rabita Committee, most citizens also have this suspicion. If chaos and lawlessness are not controlled soon, serious circles will also began to believe this. There could be an extreme reaction.

We cannot deny the fact that games of fire and gore are being played out in Karachi. However, the government does not appear to be serious about protecting the citizens and establishing peace here. The people are feeling [insecure] and worry and anger are on the rise while the government appears to be satisfied as if everything is alright. It is surprising that Sindh's Chief Minister Abdulla Shah, in his speech to the police officers and men in the district head quarters on Tuesday evening, told them, "The government has not given up and the terrorists are taking their last breath. The police will fulfill the desires of the law-abiding citizens." The

chief minister's speech gives the impression tha, he was satisfied, or even happy, while the members of various groups are being killed by each other. This kind of attitude does not behoof the head of a state government. Whether the fighting groups murder others or are killed themselves, it is still lawlessness. The truth is that it is not the terrorists but the citizens of Karachi that are taking their last breath while the government is sitting idle.

During the last 10 months the number of people killed in various skirmishes has reached 500. About 70 policemen have also been killed. The situation has deteriorated so much that they have to make special arrangements to protect the police stations. The details received about the killed citizens and policemen make one suspicious that there is a hidden hand behind all these murders and all this is happening for some corrupt political reason. It is important that the people are aware of this conspiracy and play an important role in implementing peace and law and order, so that the enemies do not take advantage of this blood letting.

Demand for Separate Mohajir Province Examined

95AS0112A Karachi JANG in Urdu 4 Nov 94 p 4

[Article by Naheed Fatima Imtiaz: "Sindhi Landlords and the Federal Government's Interference Forced the Demand for a Separate State"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Qaim Ali Shah, the president of Sindh's Pakistan People's Party [PPP], has expressed his thoughts about some fundamental social and political problems in an interview to the JANG. He believes that the landlord system in Sindh has ended and the urban investors are the "waderas" [powerful landlords] now. The real problems in Sindh are political, social, and economic. The demand for a separate Mohajir state is not appropriate.

Anyone who understands the sensitive nature of the present situation in Sindh cannot separate himself from thinking about the above issues.

The landlord system is still prevalent in Sindh. The "waderacracy" is a kind of social system here under which having or not having wealth is not very important. We cannot deny the fact that the waderas have their own identity in the social system because of their social status. Second, the basic problem in Sindh is the social injustice there and the dangerous situation that has resulted from it. The needless interference by the federal government effects Sindh's constitutional autonomy and negatively effects the effectiveness and efficiency of the state government.

The demand for a separate Mohajir state is not appropriate, however, establishment of a separate Sindhi administrative unit is the need of the time. As for the landlord (economic) and waderacracy (social) systems, the Pakistani government's published figures for 1972 and 1980 show that 33 percent of Sindh residents owned

five acres or less of land. The total of this kind of land is 3.9 percent of total land in Sindh. On the other hand, 4.7 percent of the population own 100 or more acres of land, however, they control 45 percent of the arable land. The remaining 27 percent land is owned by small landlords. Despite three land reform efforts, 72 percent of Sindh's agricultural land and 45 percent of other land is owned by the major landlord group. The small landlords own only 3.9 percent of the total land.

The government figures show that the land taken by the government as the result of the 1972 land reforms was much less than the land taken in 1959. It is not difficult to conclude that Mr. Bhutto's land reform efforts were not implemented very successfully. Therefore, the question of these reforms effecting the landlords and the waderacracy does not arise.

The fact is that when the Muslim League was created in 1906, opposed to the Indian National Congress' leadership the leadership of the Muslim League came from the major landlords. Later, when Quaid-i Azam became the leader of the Muslim League, he added lawyers, teachers, doctors, industrialists, traders, and smaller landlords to the Muslim League Council. Still, when Pakistan was established, 163 members out of the total of 503 Muslim League Council members were landlords. They are still controlling politics of this country through various political parties. The Muslim League needed the support of these landlords to establish Pakistan, therefore, it remained quiet about agricultural reforms. The story totally changed after 1947, because the landlord group took over total political control in order to protect its social and political interests. This political control is still there even now.

Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto came to power in the 70's with the support of the exploited groups in Pakistan. He had more support in Punjab than in Sindh because the waderas in Sindh were afraid of Bhutto's revolutionary plans to reform the agricultural system. However, what happened was that the 1972 agricultural reforms were not implemented appropriately because of legal and administrative inefficiency. Only one percent of the landless people and small farmers benefitted from it. Thus, the landlord system and the waderacracy were not hurt by these reforms, however, the PPP benefitted politically because many landlords joined the party in order to protect their interests. This way, the system of economic exploitation continued.

As for the waderacracy, the waderas are the center around which the social life revolves in Sindh. The waderacracy is the backbone of the present Sindhi social system with waderas on one side and the sharecroppers on the other. The latter have pawned their social and economic lives with the waderas. The waderas are in full position to exploit the sharecroppers in every way. The sharecropper is fully dependent on the waderas like a slave. Therefore, Mr. Qaim Ali Shah's saying that a wadera is determined by wealth or investment is analogous to ignoring a fundamental social fact of Sindh.

The second important statement that Mr. Qaim Ali Shah made was that the fundamental problems in Sindh were political, social, and economic. It is necessary to add the word "injustice" to this statement. The truth is that social injustice here has a long history starting with the founding of Pakistan. This social injustice has divided the Sindhi society into various groups. Some time this division is based on urban and rural grounds and other times on being a Sindhi or non-Sindhi. Still, other times on being the sons of the soil and the newcomers. Because of this continuing division, a form of homogeneous society that should have emerged and prospered after a large number of Mohajirs settled here after the independence could not evolve. The various governments that ruled Sindh participated in protecting specific interests of the waderas in Sindh and spreading a sense of deprivation, prejudice, and hatred in the Sindhi society. Therefore, as long as a feudal system is practiced here, all social and economic problems will continue to become political problems.

The role of the federal government in complicating the problems in Sindh cannot be ignored. Except for one, all the prime ministers of Pakistan since 1970 have been from Sindh. All of them hailed from wadera or the landlord group. In addition, all the chief ministers in Sindh have looked toward the "bigger wadera" or the prime minister for guidance when dealing with the constitutional rights of the state. The sad and damaging result of this practice is that the state's social problems evolved into political problems and led to total political polarization. This has divided Sindh's society into two factions and the situation has reached a point where the people are agreeing to a separate state.

According to an Umrani belief, if a social solution is not found of a social problem, it will definitely change into a political problem with time. This social problem arrives at the political arena by taking the long route of the sense of deprivation, injustice, indignation, anger, and hatred. That is what happened in Sindh and a lot of time has been wasted. Had the governments of Sindh used the state's constitutional rights appropriately or had they the permission to do so, the situation would not have become as serious as is now.

It is appropriate to mention only some of the government actions that helped spread the sense of deprivation, prejudice, and confrontation in Sindh since a lot is being written this subject now. For example, the false census in 1972 and 1980 showed lower urban population. Unfair election district formation led to under representation of the urban population. Continuing migration to urban areas resulted in additional problems there and the implementation of the quota system negatively effected education and employment opportunities in the cities. Other actions include illegal control over urban municipal agencies.

Keeping in mind the social and political polarization here and the military action of 1992, what they should

have done was to create social and political agreement to alleviate the feeling of deprivation and injustice. An atmosphere of understanding, cooperation, and mutual trust should have been created so that extremism could not be encouraged. Unfortunately, however, this did not happen and the government of Sindh under the direction of the federal government has not taken even one step to change or ameliorate the situation. There is no "last word" in politics. In politics, there is a light at the end of every dark tunnel. The only requirement is that the politician should be able to understand the need of the time. If the persons in power in Sindh do not open their eyes now, the demand for a separate state and realizing this demand is the only alternative which every person here suffering from a sense of deprivation and prejudice will be willing to take.

Public Said to Want Sharia Laws Enforced

95AS0114G Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 5 Nov 94 p 3

[Editorial: "Government Action After the Armed Conflict"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After the armed conflict and the resulting killings of three persons and a state legislator, Sharia laws have been imposed in Malakand division and Kohistan in Sarhad. This was announced by Chief Minister Aftab Ahmed Sherpao when the situation had become very serious and the government had lost control over it. It was learned that the prime minister and the president have also approved enforcement of Sharia laws. A promise to appoint qazis [Sharia judges] within a month has been made. After their appointment, all civil and criminal cases will be tried according to the Koran. Chief Minister Sherpao made this announcement while addressing a large election rally in Boneer on Thursday. He also said that the government had already decided to enforce Sharia laws in this region. He said that no one will believe and generally it would be believed that the government was making excuses as usual and was forced to make this announcement when the situation became serious and the law and order situation went out of control. Had the government been sincere about implementing the Sharia system and not used any delaying tactics, this serious and rebellious situation would not have been created. The demand for the Sharia system has been made in Malakand division for a long time and a campaign was launched for it. The people did believe government promises, however, when they felt that the government was just making excuses and waiting for the people to simmer down, this movement took momentum. Thus, the thousands who supporters implementation of the Sharia laws rebelled against the present "foreign" rule and took Badiha Alazman, Republican Party's state legislator, hostage the next day. There was a confrontation between the legislator's supporters and the members of the Tehriq-i Nifaz Shariat [Movement to Implement Sharia rule] to free the legislator and during the firing between the two groups Badiha Alazman and three other persons were killed and five more were seriously wounded.

The fervent supporters of Nifaz-i Shariat surrounded a state legislator, Dr. Mehbubul Rehman, in his residence and also controlled all the main roads in Sawat district. They also subdued the security members at the Saidu Sharif airport and took control of the airport so that no plane could land there. They also took control of some police stations and government offices in the district and raised the flags of Tehriq-i Nifaz Shariat. Seeing this zeal and anger among the people in Malakand division, the government concluded that the situation would become worse if it tried to crush this movement. The chief minister was thus forced to make this announcement. However, the people do not trust this announcement or the sincerity of the government. Thus, the Tehriq-i Nifaz Shariat has dismissed the government announcement and the plans to enforce Sharia laws as a joke. The armed members of the groups have made F.C. soldiers and hundreds of Pakistan People's Party [PPP] members their hostages. This situation indicates that the problem has not been solved and there is a danger of further confrontation. It can also be said that the government is ready to take military action against the members and supporters of the Tehriq-i Nifaz Shariat. Such action would be a serious mistake on part of the government and there would serious consequences in the whole country. It would be better if the government shows its sincerity in implementing Sharia laws in Malakand division and tries to remove the doubts that the leaders of the movement have through negotiations.

The government should bear in mind that the people of Pakistan want Sharia laws in the country and that was the main reason for establishing this nation. There have been campaigns to implement Islamic rule and despite the demand of the majority population, governments have been using excuses and delaying tactics in this context. A group composed to a handful of persons with vested interests and special privileges is blocking this honorable effort. During the present government, activities against Islamic rule and laws have been accelerated. The communication media and other government machinery is trying to undo the work done to implement the Shariat rule in the past. If the government continues this attitude, the situation like Malakand will spread all over the country. The efforts to ignore Islamic rule and Sharia laws just to keep the United States of America and the West happy will prove destructive to the government.

Punjab Politics Seen Rancous, Chaotic

95AS0113B Karachi JANG in Urdu 7 Nov 94 p 1

[Article by Khaled Kashmiri: "Is There a Vote of No-Confidence Being Prepared Against Hanif Rami, Speaker of the Punjab Assembly?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The voices which were raised by the party in power and the opposition during the assembly's four day meeting are still reverberating in Punjab. Lahore became the center of politics and the credit for

that goes to the opposition party. Acting on the decision of its high command, the opposition requested that a four day meeting of the assembly be called to study the problem of law and order. This was an auspicious decision because it reassured, to a certain extent, the people of the province that they would be spared, at least for a time, the din and outcry which is protest policy. The opposition chose a democratic arena, as is done in civilized democratic countries, to test its strength against the government.

Following the Tehrik-I-Nijat [salvation movement] by the opposition party, when the opposition requested that the meeting of the Punjab assembly be held, the people expected that the opposition would take full advantage of the meeting and would target for criticism the economic and other policies of the government; that there would be a fruitful debate in the assembly on the law and order situation and the high cost of living. After a detailed discussion with Hanif Rami, speaker of the assembly, the agenda for the meeting was prepared and agreed upon by a four member committee of the opposition consisting of barrister Osman Ibrahim, Malik Saleem Iqbal, Chaudhry Mohammad Iqbal and S.A. Hameed. It was decided that the meeting would last for four days and according to the agenda, the first two days were to be devoted to the discussion of law and order and one day to the issue of the high cost of living. The fourth and last day was to be private members' day. Although the opposition had called the meeting with the intention of testing its strength against the party in power, the opposition refused to discuss the preparation of the agenda with the government representatives following which the speaker had to negotiate with the opposition regarding the final shape of the agenda.

The party in power and the opposition called upon their elected representatives from all parts of the province to gather in strength in Lahore as a result of which the activities of the opposition throughout the province and the retaliatory actions of the political leaders of the party in power decreased considerably. But the expectations of the people to the effect that their representatives would keep their political activities within parliamentary circles and in criticising each other, would observe the moral boundaries of democratic institutions were not realized. On the first day of the assembly meeting, the second in command of the opposition, Chaudhry Parvez Illahi, and his companions entered the assembly hall soon after the arrival of the government party members. At that juncture, a member of the opposition, Inamullah Niazi, took a small green plastic water pitcher [the kind used for washing hands etc.] out of his pocket and hung it on the microphone in front of the assembly leader and chief minister, Mian Manzur Ahmad Wato. Although the speaker later removed the object, the fact that opposition members carried bags filled with small water pitchers showed that the opposition had had these containers made for a specific purpose. On the first day, in his speech opening the discussion of the law and order situation, the second in command of the opposition,

Chaudhry Parvez Illahi, made personal attacks on the chief minister who was present in the assembly. It was natural that the ruling party should become angry. The assembly soon resembled a fish market and this situation continued until the meeting was adjourned.

In reply to Parvez Illahi, Chief Minister Mian Manzur Ahmad Wato addressed the assembly and challenged Nawaz Sharif and Parvez Illahi to a television debate on the subject of who had changed allegiance and had betrayed trust. Thus, the opposition's objective in calling a meeting of the assembly and insisting that the assembly affairs be conducted according to an agenda was never realized. The responsibility for this failure rested on the shoulders of the opposition because it did not try to confine the assembly's actions to the discussion of the issues which it had prepared. No laws were prepared in the four days, the very purpose for which the people send representatives to the assembly. The only accomplishment of the assembly was the opposition's display of water pitchers and the chief minister's challenge to the opposition party leader, Sharif, to debate him on the television.

After the Punjab assembly had adjourned, the opposition party requested the speaker to summon another meeting. But Wato's challenge to Sharif to participate in a debate continued to reverberate in Lahore and even the entire state. Political circles were of the view that it would be difficult for the leader of the opposition in the national assembly, Sharif, to accept Wato's challenge. Meanwhile, Wato's spokesman announced that neither side would be allowed to read any written material during the debate. Government circles are calling Chaudhry Parvez Illahi's statement that he would appear with twenty of his companions for the television debate a "cop out."

As for the latest political situation in Punjab's parliament, the government is contemplating summoning an assembly session under strict police protection because the government thinks that the presence of the police would deter certain opposition members from pulling off tricks. The government took such measures during the last four day session of the assembly and the assembly galleries and courtyard were filled with white clad policemen. Speaker of the assembly, Mohammad Hanif Rami, has also appointed two superintendents of police to help the sergeant-at-arms when needed. Apparently, the speaker has the right to take such measures. As for the future agenda of the opposition, it is discussing the question of whether to present a motion of no-confidence in the speaker.

Commentary Calls For Creation of Nine Provinces *95AS0113A Karachi JANG in Urdu 8 Nov 94 p 3*

[Article by Aftabuddin Qureishi: "Provincial Boundaries and the Pakistan Ideology"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ever since its inception, Pakistan has been searching for an efficient political leadership to

bring about social justice, an effective system for political stability and the implementation of the Pakistan ideology under which the country was established. Unfortunately, after the death of Qaid-i-Azam and the removal of Liaquat Ali Khan from the political scene, the country has not had a political leadership which reflected public consensus and thus could undertake revolutionary steps to achieve the desired aims of national prosperity. Consequently, power passed out of the hands of the people to the feudal landlords. In order to further their policies and win elections, civil and military forces have had to work in the interests of these powers and try to please them. There is no political force today which can work independently to carry out its objectives. As a result, instead of there being a proud nation, the people have become the fuel for wars of interest and "Pakistanism" has disappeared. The logical outcome of this state of affairs has been that the provincial units which were created to carry out administrative tasks, became instead linguistic units for different ethnic groups. Under an unwritten constitution of their own, feudal landlords and bureaucrats divided the country into four ethnic units and used them to guard the interests of four linguistic divisions. They adopted policies designed to guard each other's interests and forced other units in the country to look to provincial divisions for obtaining representation in federal and other organizations. Since this system has become the norm, federal policies, instead of keeping the spirit of Pakistan as a whole in mind, now aim at protecting the interests of the four linguistic units. Whether the issue relates to the distribution of water, electricity royalties, federal jobs or any other problem, the aim is to protect the interests of each of the four linguistic units. Hence, those linguistic units which play an important part in the economic progress of the country but do not have a provincial platform to protect their interests are forced to conclude that they cannot achieve representation and safeguard their interests without provincial representation. For example, Karachi provides fifty per cent of the country's annual income but it has not been able to find representation either federally or in the province of Sindh. The huge population of Karachi has always been at the mercy of provincial feudal landlords. The linguistic groups living in Karachi, Hyderabad, Nawab Shah and Sukkur have to look to the political power of rural feudal landlords to solve even their minor problems. These landlords never act as Pakistanis but behave in the manner of provincial bureaucracies augmented by their own feudal attitude and treat these linguistic groups as though they were slaves in the rural feudal system.

These are the reasons why Sindh's urban dwellers have come to the conclusion that it is not possible to gain political representation without the creation of a new linguistic unit or province. Sindhi speakers call the further division of Sindh the division of "the motherland" and represent such a division as a matter of life and death. They support the contention that the division of the province is not an administrative one but the

division of the political representation of a linguistic unit. This argument is contrary to the ideology of Pakistan because that ideology did not envisage four or six linguistic units. The Pakistan ideology was based on the existence of two nations to be divided, not on a linguistic basis but on that of religion. Thus, if Pakistan is now split into more than four administrative units, that action would be in line with the ideology of Pakistan because it would give all linguistic units the right of representation and make it possible to end the political unrest in the country. The implementation of the following suggestions would create a strong Pakistan, establish social justice and end political unrest:

1. The country should be divided into nine provinces, namely, the provinces of Punjab (Punjabi speaking area); Multan (comprising Saraeki speaking areas); Rawalpindi (Hindko speaking area); Kashmir (comprising Northern territories and Kashmir); Pakhtun (Pashtu and Pakhtun speakers); Sindh (excluding Karachi and Hyderabad); Karachi province (comprising Karachi and Hyderabad); Balochistan (comprising Baloch areas); Khazdar province (comprising Barohi areas).
2. The bicameral system on the federal level should be abolished and replaced with a unicameral system. The senate should be abolished leaving only the national assembly.
3. All provinces should have equal representation in the national assembly; each province should have 50 seats in the national assembly which would then have a total of 450 members plus fifty seats for women and minorities. Thus, the problem of differences in the number of representatives when forming a government would no longer arise and the customary horse-trading ended. By giving equal representation to each province, a national consensus would be possible on national issues.
4. Provinces should no longer be split into divisions and Zilas should be established directly, thus making it possible to end a multicameral system.
5. The system of municipalities should be replaced with that of Zila governments; this would help in ending the common perception that the people are shut off from participation in government.

Government Entry into Private Homes Condemned

95AS0133D Karachi AMN in Urdu 12 Nov 94 p 3

[Editorial: "Countrywide Door to Door Search"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The government has decided to search every home to recover illegal weapons and ammunition. According to newspaper reports, the federal home minister will supervise this nationwide campaign. The government has been experimenting with this system in Sindh in general, and Karachi in particular; however, it was not very successful. This campaign spread fear and feelings of oppression among the people

in the cities, and made the lives of law-abiding citizens extremely difficult. There have been complaints against the raiding of every house and the searching in Karachi. Now perhaps the government wants to achieve some specific goals by establishing this system nationwide. It is also incomprehensible, because these kinds of campaigns are not publicized. If the government publicizes this sensitive program, then it will not achieve its goals. The decision must have been made just to make the people worry and cause them to be concerned. There will be no positive results from it.

Business Community Said Worried Over Karachi Violence

95AS0133C Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 12 Nov 94 p 3

[Editorial: "Business Community's Expression of Concern"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The new wave of violence and terrorism in Karachi has created worry and disappointment among all people in the city. Businessmen and industrialists are also very worried by the deteriorating law and order situation. Therefore, the Federation of Pakistan Chamber of Commerce and Industry's president, S. M. Munir, addressed a crowded press conference on Tuesday and demanded that the government establish law and order in Sindh, especially in Karachi; otherwise, the group of traders would make the next step on 1 December. S. M. Munir has demanded that the military be given its rights under constitutional Article 245 to establish military check posts in the city. The traders have decided to put black bands on their arms, raise white flags on industrial and trade centers, and carry out a peace march. The concerns expressed by the traders and industrialists are valid, and their demands for law and order are appropriate. However, people believe that they should not expect much of the military now. It has been present in this city for two and one-half years, but it could not establish law and order. This has negatively affected its prestige. The government wants to attain its political goals by using the military as a shield. Therefore, it would be better that the military leave Sindh immediately to avoid more notoriety. It has been said that whenever news about the military leaving has been brought to light, the law and order situation in Karachi gets worse. This gave the impression to the country that the military perhaps does not want to return to its barracks. This further gave a bad name to the military. At present, we have elected governments at the Center and in each state. Therefore, the government should try to establish peace by taking political steps. If it does not change its policies, and bloodshed and lawlessness continue to increase, then these troublemaking elements will also storm the fancy mansions of the government leaders.

Disrespect Said Shown Between PML(N), ANP

95AS0115C Karachi AKHBAR-E-JEHAN in Urdu
13 Nov 94 p 14

[Article by Sultan Siddiqui: "Differences Are Being Created Between ANP and Muslim League (N)"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Frontier assembly met for eleven days and adjourned until an unspecified date. The meeting was plagued from the beginning to the end with the issue of quorum which was raised three times on the last day and the meeting was adjourned three times. At the time when speaker Abdul Akbar Khan was reading the order issued by the Frontier Governor Khursheed Ali Khan, a quorum was lacking in the assembly and instead of the required 22 members, only seventeen were in attendance, three of whom belonged to the Islamic Front. In the meeting, provincial Minister of the Treasury, Sayed Omar Abbas, announced proudly that facilities had been made available to political prisoners in the provincial jails and that the prisoners were even allowed to use mobile phones. But the minister's claim was proved to be false; in Peshawar Central Jail, former federal minister and central leader of the Awami National Party [ANP], Alhaj Ghulam Ahmad Bilaur, who was speaking on his mobile telephone had his phone set confiscated by the jail authorities and forbidden to use the phone again. In a statement issued from central jail, Ghulam Ahmad Bilaur said that the statement of the provincial minister for jails to the effect that political prisoners were allowed to use VCRs and mobile telephones in jail was false and aimed at creating dissension. Bilaur warned that the Pakistan People's Party [PPP] government should prepare itself for treatment worse than it was meting out to Bilaur [and other political prisoners].

During his recent trip to Peshawar, Nawaz Sharif, leader of the opposition party, met with Bilaur and other prisoners in the central jail and visited two local Muslim League leaders who were recently set free. Muslim League leaders had not officially informed ANP leaders of Sharif's visit and consequently none of the leaders and members of ANP took part in the welcoming reception and rally for Sharif. Sharif himself did not visit any leaders or members of ANP who had been freed from jail. During the meeting in jail, Bilaur complained of this shabby treatment to provincial Muslim League [PML-N] leader, Agha Sayyed Ali Shah, in the presence of Sharif; Bilaur said that several ANP leaders were in jail and asked rhetorically as to who would visit them. Sharif then apologized to Bilaur and reprimanded the League provincial leader. Sharif also postponed his intended visit to the family of the provincial party general secretary, Haji Mohammad Javed, who is in Kohat jail because Sharif would then have been obligated to visit the families of ANP's Bashir Bilaur, Aqil Shah and other leaders. Although the oversight was resolved by apologies and explanations, it left a feeling of resentment in the hearts of the [party] members. Even the Muslim League leader and members regarded Agha Sayyed Ali Shah's actions injurious to the party itself and its union with ANP and a source of dissension and confusion. Muslim League critics are expressing the view that Shah, who was outside the country during the various stages of the movement, was now being instigated by certain elements to create dissension between the Muslim

League (N) and ANP. A number of local League leaders have resigned from the party in protest against Shah's action. Certain leaders of the Muslim Youth Force and Muslim Students Federation have demanded that the central leadership take action against Agha Sayyed Ali Shah.

The District Bar Association's protest against the dismissal of a civil judge by the government allegedly on political grounds continues and lawyers belonging to the National Lawyers' Forum and People's Lawyers' Forum as well as lawyers supporting the Muslim League are participating in the protest. Efforts are underway to seek the participation in the protest of the High Court Bar Association and a joint meeting of the two associations is going to be held in the near future. The PPP lawyer arrested by the government for participating in the protest was released after demonstrations were held by lawyers. However, the protest continues against the dismissal of the judge whose reinstatement is being demanded.

The United National Movement has accelerated its efforts to organize the party in the Frontier province. Wissal Ahmad Shah, the central chief organizer of the party, is visiting Peshawar. He is accompanied on this organizing trip by certain members of the assembly who belong to the party.

Raphel Visit, American Foreign Policy Viewed

95AS0136A Peshawar MASHRIQ in Urdu 17 Nov 94 P 3

[Editorial: "America's Positive Attitude Toward Pakistan's Problems."]

[FBIS Translated Text] U.S. Undersecretary of State, Robin Raphel, in a meeting with President Farooq Ahmad Leghari, discussed in detail Pak-American relations, the security of the region, the progress of democracy in Pakistan and other important issues. This meeting shows that the U.S. is ready to play a more constructive and effective role in this region. This impression is further strengthened by the fact that this time, Raphel and the U.S. ambassador also held a long meeting with Nawaz Sharif, the leader of the opposition party. Earlier, Raphel spoke about the vital issues of Pakistan's domestic situation and democratic stability. Impartial observers have drawn the following conclusions from her views:

First, the U.S. is ready to help Pak-India negotiations on the Kashmir issue. Second, in view of the changed international situation, the U.S. is deeply interested in promoting relations with Pakistan, solving differences through silent diplomacy and preventing such differences from affecting relations. Third, the U.S. understands better Pakistan's stand on the nuclear issue and accepts the argument that unless the Kashmir issue is solved, the agenda to clear South Asia of nuclear

weapons cannot be completed. Fourth and most important, the U.S. is deeply interested in promoting Pakistan's political and economic stability and democracy.

The views of these impartial observers are further confirmed by press reports relating to Raphel's meetings with the president of Pakistan, the prime minister and the leader of the opposition. The president of Pakistan tried to make it clear to Raphel that in order to make peace secure in the region, the U.S. and all other important countries should focus their attention on the Kashmir issue and use their influence to have the problem solved according to international laws. President Leghari also said that the U.S. objective to halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons in South Asia could not be achieved without solving the Kashmir problem. According to informed sources, Raphel told President Leghari that the U.S. was willing to help Pak-Indian negotiations on the Kashmir issue.

According to press reports, in the meeting between U.S. undersecretary of state and Nawaz Sharif, the latter emphasized that the U.S. should pay constructive attention to such issues as the Kashmir problem, the Pressler amendment and the supply of F-16 fighters. This fact shows that there is complete agreement between the government of Pakistan and the opposition in regard to all foreign policy issues and that the opposition leader's attacks on the government within the country on these issues have resulted from the sole objective of political confrontation. It is no secret that in view of the new international situation, the U.S. wants to see democracy prosper in all countries of the world including Pakistan. Thus, when Raphel remarked that the opposition in Pakistan should wait its turn, there was no need for the opposition's M.N.A. Chaudhary to retort that Raphel should refrain from acting like a viceroy in Pakistan and that Raphel should have given this advice to Benazir when she was trying to sabotage the Sharif government.

Many of the opposition leaders justify their policy of agitation on the grounds that Benazir herself had followed the same policy against Sharif's government. These individuals forget, however, that the elections which brought Sharif's government to office became controversial internationally because of the machinations and strong arm tactics of the influential circles in Pakistan. Benazir had declared at that time that the elections were fraudulent and the government that came into office was unconstitutional and undemocratic. Nevertheless, she did not follow a policy of constant agitation but adopted a constructive attitude of parliamentary opposition inside and outside the assemblies and even accepted the leadership of the foreign affairs parliamentary committee which Sharif offered to her. On the other hand, the present opposition party accepted with a good grace the results of the October 1993 election but has not cooperated with the government at any time. The opposition's stubborn attitude has prompted impartial observers who are interested in the free progress of democracy in Pakistan to advise Sharif to wait his turn.

Such advice cannot in any way be interpreted as interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan. According to an earlier press report, the U.S. undersecretary of state said in regard to the demand for the division of Sindh that she did not intend to comment on Pakistan's internal affairs but that she could not understand at all the logic behind the demand for the division of Sindh. For a long time, the seriousness of the situation in Sindh has been a cause for concern among the people of Pakistan but similar concern has been expressed outside the country as well. A patriotic Pakistani considers the demand for the division of Sindh contrary to the security interests of the country; similarly, observers outside the country who are interested in Pakistan's safety are surprised and at a loss to explain the factors inciting the call for the separation of Karachi on a linguistic basis. This would have dangerous hidden consequences in a sensitive area such as Sindh. When a foreign observer expresses good wishes regarding Pakistan's national security and democratic stability, patriotic circles should express their approval and not regard such statements as interference in the internal affairs of the country.

Malakand: Government Suppression Condemned

95AS0136B Karachi TAKBEER in Urdu 17 Nov 94 p 5

[Editorial: "Is an Armed Attack the Punishment for Demanding the Implementation of Sharia Laws?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The movement for the implementation of Islamic sharia [religious laws] is not a new phenomenon in Malakand division. In May of this year, the tragic incident of bloodshed and the loss of ten lives occurred over the demand for the promulgation of sharia laws. There was no serious effort made at that time to deal with the issue and find a lasting solution for it; the problem was merely put aside. Consequently, six months later the same issue has raised its head. Why has this issue become so heated in Malakand whereas in other areas, though there is public sympathy with the demand, no such intensity of feelings exists? To clarify the matter, we had written in the editorial section of this year's TAKBEER issue of 26 May, number 21, the following explanation:

"The inhabitants of the four zilas of Malakand division have been under great stress over the last four years. In the past, when this area was under the jurisdiction of small sardarships [local landlords] and states, sharia laws were observed and courts of justice were presided over by qazis [judges versed in sharia laws] who promulgated these laws; this system remained in force for centuries. The affairs of life were conducted according to sharia laws of security and appropriateness in an atmosphere of law and order. When the sardarships and states were abolished, the old laws and legal system disappeared as well. However, since this area had remained outside the British legal system, Provincially Administered Tribal Areas Regulations [PATA] laws were enforced. In 1985, a religious scholar from Deir zila, Maulana Sufi Mohammad, pointed out the elements of injustice and oppression contained in PATA laws and demanded that they be

replaced with sharia laws. He organized a movement of resistance based on this demand.

PATA laws were challenged in the courts and in one of its decisions, the supreme court declared these laws to be unjust and consequently the laws were abolished. After this legal victory, the demand for the promulgation of sharia laws intensified. The general impression among the people is that after the abrogation of the PATA laws, the government will bring Malakand division under the jurisdiction of Pakistan's civil laws. However, the leaders of the resistance movement (Tahrik-I-Nifaz-Sahriat-I-Mohammadi) [movement for the promulgation of Islamic laws] regard Pakistan's secular laws as not much different from PATA; they regard these laws as oppressive and unjust and maintain that the poor in particular are denied justice under secular laws; hence, the leaders of the movement insist that they be allowed to follow sharia laws. The government's attitude, however, is one of hesitation and procrastination.

This year, a meeting of the prominent individuals of Malakand division was held in the school of the former leader of the Frontier province's Jamaat-I-Islami, [JI] Maulana Gauhar Rahman, and a plan of action was drawn up for an organized movement to resist secular laws and promulgate sharia laws. The government was put on notice that it should fulfill the demand for sharia laws by 11 May, 1994, and put an end to the legal vacuum existing in Malakand division; that if the government failed to do so, the people of Malakand division would be forced to take their protest to the streets.

A 36 member delegation of the Frontier province's Jamaat-I-Islami then met with President Laghari in the presidential office and discussed with him the people's demand for the promulgation of sharia laws in Malakand division. The delegation also demanded that the laws of Qisas-I-Wadia [punishment proportionate to the crime] be extended to Malakand division. The president disappointed the delegation's hopes by his stand that he was unable to take any action in the matter and that the parliament would have to pass laws promulgating sharia laws.

The President, [had he so wished] could have issued an ordinance fulfilling this legal requirement and the government could have easily obtained the parliament's approval of the ordinance. All four assembly delegates elected from this region asked President Laghari to take quick action to prevent the situation from deteriorating. All four delegates supported the demand for sharia laws, arguing that when the people themselves demanded these laws, no one should thwart their wishes. The assembly members knocked on every door; they met with the president, the chief justice of the supreme court, the governor and the chief minister of the Frontier province and all these individuals fully agreed in principle that the sharia laws should be implemented. Nevertheless, the people of the region did not get the laws they wanted.

In May, the inhabitants of Bajur and Malakand agencies had joined the residents of Deir, Swat, Boneer and Chitral zilas in the demand for sharia laws; this time, the residents of Kuhistan and the upper regions of zila Hazara also demonstrated their support. Maulana Mufti Rafi Osmani has widened the demand and says that Islamic sharia laws should be promulgated throughout the country.

The authorities did nothing in May and finally on the evening of 16 May, the governor of the Frontier province, retired Major General Khursheed Ali Khan, issued an order promulgating sharia laws in Malakand. The governor issued the order after Boneer's DC ordered the police, on 15 May, to open fire on unarmed and peaceful demonstrators demanding sharia laws; ten individuals were killed and 25 wounded. The governor acted with the approval of the assembly leader and the federal government and his action was aimed at preventing the situation from deteriorating any further.

After the governor's order was issued, both the provincial and federal government seemed to have fallen asleep for no practical steps were taken. Tired of the government's inaction and broken promises, Tahrik-I-Nifaz-I-Mohammadi took a sudden and dramatic action against the government. On the evening of 2 November, several armed Tahrik members raised the flag of rebellion in Swat valley against the "Western system". Details of this incident can be read in our correspondent's report in this issue.

This rebellion was in every way a complete and organized act aimed at overthrowing a system. In democratic societies with elected governments, such acts are frowned upon but the amazing fact is that in the entire country, no one from any side has dared to raise his voice in condemnation of the rebellion; everyone is supporting it and the rebellion seems to be spreading at a fast pace. This reaction shows to what an extent the people hate the present system. The authorities should read the writing on the wall and realize that if the wishes of the people continue to be ignored, the outcome will not be pleasant. The People's Party's first administration had ended with the Tahrik-I-Nizam-I-Mustafa [movement for the Islamic system]. That movement was also opposed to the preferred "enlightened" and "pride of Asia" system; the present Tehrik-I-Nifaz-I-Shariat-I-Mohammadi is directed against the enlightened lady prime minister's system of government which is referred to by the insurgents as the system of Westerners. Benazir herself is gaining the reputation of being a faithful worker for the Western system. It would be to her advantage to gauge the direction of the people's wishes, abandon devious paths and follow the straight road. She should understand the deep desire of the people for the Islamic system and cease to participate in shoring up America's new world order.

This demand for sharia laws proves that there is an intense desire throughout the country for the implementation of sharia laws and disgust for secular laws. The

fact is that the people are fed up with the injustice and oppression ingrained in secular laws and the legal system and they want to regain peace and security by replacing secular with Islamic laws. But our authorities pay no attention to the wishes of the people.

Discontent in Malakand Said Spreading

95AS0134A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 18 Nov 94
pp 10-12

[Article: The Sharia Movement is Spreading From Malakand to Tribal Areas"]

[FBIS Translated Text] When the Malakand division of the Tehrik-i Nifaz Shariat [movement to enforce religious rule] was established on 28 June 1989 in District Dir, no one suspected that this movement was going to spread in all the tribal areas within five years and that a time would come when the people here would not stop from sacrificing their lives for this movement!

Although Pakistan was established in the name of Islam and the slogans in the name of Allah were used to found the Islamic democracy of Pakistan, it is the misfortune of this nation that the British laws that were used here before the partition of the subcontinent are still used now.

The attempts made to establish Shariat rule in Pakistan and the efforts made in the parliament are known to all. The first constitutional assembly of 1949 established on the people's demand passed resolutions about goals in the 1956 Constitution which included Islamic articles. The 1973 Constitution promised implementation of Islamic laws in Pakistan and establishment of the Islamic Ideological Council. The continuing promises of the government [to implement Islamic law] and people's campaigns are all part of our history. In the 1973 Constitution, a promise was made not to pass any law that is contrary to Islamic principles. However, from then until now, all these proved to be just promises.

During General Zia's regime, the Ordinance of limitations, Zakat [charity] and Ushar [tithe] Ordinance, federal Sharia courts, and religious laws were enforced. However, Zia could not fulfill his promise to establish religious rule as he lost power after the Nizam-i Mustafa campaign. No essential arrangements were made in this country to enforce Shariat rule and that is why Shariat rule is still a dream in this country. Anyhow, the purpose of this discussion was to show the way the Muslims of Pakistan established parties and organizations at national, state, and regional levels to establish Shariat and the sacrifices they made to prove their great love for Shariat.

Maulana Sufi Mohammed, who was an ordinary maulvi in Lal Kila Maidan of Dir district, had also started his campaign because of this strong feeling. Call it fate that nature provided him the opportunity in Malakand division to fight for Shariat rule with full force.

The people in Malakand division have been demanding removal of Pakistan Administered Tribal Areas (PATA) regulations for a long time and the Tehriq-i Nifaz Shariat had opposed these regulations during the 1990 general elections from Dir to Maidan.

Despite lack of leadership and paucity of resources, the people in Malakand division carried on their movement for Shariat rule. This movement got much more support in Malakand division than in the rest of the country. It should be noted that candidates of Islamic religious parties were successfully elected from here to the national and state assemblies.

However, it was on 12 February 1994 that the whole political scenario changed in Malakand division when the Supreme Court of Pakistan announced ending the PATA regulations here. This gave a new life to the Tehriq-i Nifaz Shariat in Malakand division. The Tehriq-i Nifaz Shariat began to demand with full force the filling up of the vacuum created by the end of PATA with Shariat laws.

The government failed to fill the vacuum created by removing PATA regulations with some other form of laws. The people in the valley demanded with one voice that Shariat laws be implemented in Malakand division.

During this time, on 3 May 1994, Maulana Sufi Mohammed openly declared that if Shariat rule was not implemented in Malakand division, the people there would not remain patient and the resultant situation would be the responsibility of the government.

The discussions about the popularity of the Tehriq-i Nifaz Shariat in Malakand division were spread to other divisions also and deputations from these tribal areas came to visit Maulana Sufi Mohammed. This way, branches and units of Tehriq-i Nifaz Shariat were established in all the tribal areas gradually.

Various authorities, columnists, and media agencies forget the background of this region when commenting on the situation in Malakand division and Bajaura agency. Some of them try to blame a foreign hand in creating this situation and try to discredit it all.

The truth, however, is that this movement is part of the series of movements that were spread in the India-Pakistan subcontinent until the establishment of Pakistan and the Shariat Mohammedi movement that continued after Pakistan was established. One link of this chain is the Tehriq-i Nifaz Shariat spread in Malakand division and other tribal areas. The Muslims living in this region want the Shariat laws enforced in their area.

When Maulana Sufi Mohammed demanded of the government to enact Shariat laws on 3 May, the government treated it as another insignificant demand, and instead of trying to understand the emotions and the feelings of the people, tried to ignore it just like it ignores other issues.

Thus on 11 May 1994, thousands of Malakand people carrying black and white Tehriq-i Nifaz Shariat flags totally blockaded the busy Malakand Pass. Normal life here was totally in disarray and traffic was blocked. The people brought food for the Nifaz-i Shariat volunteers and demonstrations started in other parts of Malakand division also. During one of such demonstrations, when the demonstrators tried to block a road in the Babaji Kandao region of Bonear district, there was a skirmish between them and the paramilitary forces resulting in the death of 12 persons and in many others being wounded.

This was the first time when the blood of martyrs was shed in Malakand's Tehriq-i Nifaz Shariat campaign. Thousands of zealous volunteers controlled the Malakand Pass until 17 November. After the tragic incident in Bonear, Sarhad's Governor Major General Khurshid Ali Khan made this one-sentence announcement, "I declare implementation of Shariat laws in Malakand." This declaration was unclear and vague. No details or particulars were made public.

Time passed and despite this government declaration no practical step was taken. The Tehriq-i Nifaz Shariat gave a deadline to the government in September, however, this campaign was suspended because of the Tehriq-i Nijat led by the opposition and the negotiations being held in the state.

When 12 persons were martyred in Bonear on 16 May, the governor of Sarhad made that vague statement for Malakand division and a court tribunal was also established on 2 June to investigate the Bonear tragedy. This tribunal recorded statements and the activities continued without any results. This caused anxiety among the people. On many dates, including on 17 July, various public meetings in conjunction with the Tehriq-i Nifaz Shariat took place in Malakand division. However, these meetings were not very fruitful.

On 19 July, there was a confrontation between "Bajaurlevy" and the Tehriq-i Nifaz Shariat (whose unit was established in Bajaura agency by then) volunteers at Bajaura resulting in the death of three persons and serious wounds to dozens of others.

The government took this action because the local leaders had raised banners and flags of the Tehriq-i Nifaz Shariat.

Thousands of Tehriq-i Nifaz Shariat members gathered in Grassy Ground in Maingura on 25 September raising "Shariat or martyrdom" slogans, these brave persons took an oath to start a jihad. On 11 October, they practiced firing in the air as a rehearsal.

On 31 October, the state government changed one of its decisions. It joined Bajaura agency with Malakand division under Peshawar division. This spread unrest among the people here.

Only two days later on 2nd November, about 2,500 armed volunteers of the Tehriq-i Nifaz Shariat raising slogans of "Shariat or martyrdom" took over the control of headquarters of Matta and Sawat subdivisions.

They took the following officials hostages: District and Session Judge Sawat Irshad Hussain Khan, Senior Civil Judge Azam Afredi, Extra Assistant Commissioner Laiq Hussain, and Tehsildar Mushtaq. This action was taken under the leadership of Muzaffar Sayyed Advocate, a local lawyer and a Tehriq-i Nifaz Shariat leader. During this time, Imanullah Khan and other staff members of the police and 22 Frontier Constabulary soldiers were taken hostages. This was followed by two-weeks long violence and bloodshed which on Tuesday evening at the time of writing this article had spread from Malakand division to Bajaura agency.

This movement has spread from Malakand division to Sawar, Dir, Bonear, Kohistan, Diamir (northern region), and Bajaura agency.

During that time on 3 November the incident of assassination of Badiah Alzaman, the Sarhad assembly member, took place. The chief minister of Sarhad announced that Shariat rule will be implemented in Malakand division during the Bonear interim election in Sarhad. Later, some details were also brought to light.

However, the time had passed and the situation was out of the government's control. Lack of serious effort by the government and the ambiguous declaration made by Sarhad's governor in May resulted in 30 deaths (on both sides) in Malakand alone. Unrest had spread in the whole nation and there were some serious results.

The truth is that the incidents in Malakand taught a lesson to the government that it should not deceive the people and they can react to it. It is not necessary to give the details of all the skirmishes that took place as these were included in the newspapers. This whole background is mentioned here to show that the people of Malakand were correct in making their demand. This is their constitutional birthright as Muslims and as citizens of the Islamic democracy of Pakistan to demand a government system for their region. Since the Pakistani Constitution includes implementation of Islamic laws, their demand was not wrong. However, the present government is responsible for the way they were treated and the resulting reaction. The historians will definitely write the sacrifices made by the people of Malakand and Bajaura agencies for the Shariat in golden letters.

It is Tuesday evening and while I am writing this article, news arrives from Bara Khyber that the Ulema of Commission Bara attacked a government house right in the presence of political officials, removed the dish antenna and took it with them. It seems that Tehriq-i Nifaz Shariat has spread to other tribal areas also.

According to the news received here, more than 50 people have been killed in Bajaura agency and the

paramilitary forces are facing opposition in Mamoona area. It is possible that when you read this article, Bajaura agency may have been taken over by force.

However, what would you say when you learn that our government by this military operation is having the armed forces of Pakistan's Islamic democracy fight against the tribals on our border. Obviously, the feelings of hatred among the tribals against the armed forces and the government will increase now. If some people consider the Malakand and Bajaura incidents as a part of some foreign conspiracy, then our government also appears to be involved in this conspiracy. It is having the people hate their own armed forces. We all know the part these tribals played in Pakistan's history. They also made sacrifices in Kashmir's fight for freedom.

The sacrifices of the Malakand division people during the Russian army's defeat and the Afghan jihad are part of our history. The government may be temporarily successful using these tactics, but it cannot end the Tehriq-i Nifaz Shariat. The only solution of this problem is to immediately introduce Shariat laws in tribal areas. The president of our country should issue an ordinance to this effect because the chief minister of Sarhad is responsible for only one state while these regions are directly controlled by the federal government and the governor here represents the president.

The Pakistan People's Party [PPP] had also announced ending 40 cruel laws here, but did not fulfill this promise. The tribal people are unhappy with the laws and they do not have the right to vote. Political officials can arrest anyone without any crime and under the laws, their actions cannot be challenged in any court in the world. This is totally against basic human rights. Therefore, the government should repeal all the notorious laws in Bajaura agency and other tribal areas. These laws are aggravating the feeling of deprivation felt by the tribals. What is necessary is that instead of using force to resolve this issue, the government should respect demands made by the people and do its constitutional duty by announcing implementation of Shariat laws in this area immediately.

The government should also accept the responsibility for the massacre and other incidents that took place here and initiate an investigation immediately. It is hoped that these investigations do not meet the same fate as other investigations and that the facts are brought before the people.

Impact of Disorder on Karachi's Business Examined

95AS0136C Karachi JANG in Urdu 18 Nov 94 p 3

[Article by Agha Masud Hussain: "A Timely Warning"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In a recent press conference, the leader of a prominent organization of the brotherhood of businessmen, Federation of Chambers of Commerce and

Industry [FPCCI], S.M. Muneer, appealed to the government to give the army the powers described under article 245 of the constitution and allow the army to take effective measures against the enemies of society and do away with these elements whose terrorism and lawlessness were holding Karachi hostage. S.M. Muneer is a sincere man and a patriotic Pakistani; he is basically a businessman who has made rapid and exemplary success in industry and trade. He is a resident of Karachi and is extending his business in that city. Naturally, when rivers of blood flow in the streets and homes of Karachi, then he like the other hundreds and thousands of the residents of the city, is saddened and sheds tears of blood. The law and order situation that has existed over the past year in Karachi and Sindh, and earlier as well before the arrival of the army, has had a mentally deleterious effect on Karachi's residents. The part that all the political parties have played in regard to improving the situation has been regrettable; instead of confronting elements inimical to society, the parties have surrendered both mentally and politically and thus have so emboldened these enemies of society that now theft, hold-ups and murders have become a daily occurrence and Karachi has been dubbed Asia's most dangerous city. This situation is not only a source of regret and anxiety for everyone but it also shows that the government itself has become the hostage of law breakers. Those in charge of government and their employees are not concerned about Karachi because they live secure lives surrounded by iron walls of police. Bureaucratic summation of Karachi's situation is neither factual nor does it reflect the sentiments of the people. The result is that Karachi's situation deteriorates instead of improving. In view of the government's callousness, S.M. Muneer's demand that the army be given powers under article 245 of the constitution is timely; in this way at least, it may be possible to improve Karachi's situation and purge those anti-social elements who have not only taken away the beauty of the city but have also affected the livelihood of the residents; many industrialists and businessmen have taken their capital and themselves out of the city.

S.M. Muneer cited an example to show why the army should be given special powers. He told the journalists that under the present system, the army turns over to the police the anti-social elements that it arrests; the police conspire with the criminals and release them, and the criminals are again free to rob and murder. Muneer said that the people have lost confidence in the police which has now become the symbol of corruption. He cited another example in this connection to the effect that over the last two years, the army had arrested and turned over to the police 1400 dangerous professional criminals who were released on bail and renewed the same reprehensible activities for which they had been arrested; it was thus obvious that when thieves and murderers went unpunished, the city could not be protected from them and that was the reason why a special lobby (created by the police) was defaming the army. S.M. Muneer met

President Leghari in regard to this matter and pleaded Karachi's case effectively. He requested the president to allow the army to exercise the powers given under article 245 of the constitution. I should here inform the readers that Benazir Bhutto's first administration had told Aslam Beg, the chief of the army at that time, that he should start an operation in Sindh to get rid of bandits and terrorists. General Beg had made it clear to the prime minister that such an operation would be ineffective unless it was undertaken with the powers given under article 245. He explained that Sindh's police force was in league with anti-social elements and that was why the army wanted full authority. As long as General Aslam Beg was chief of the army, he insisted that he would not start an operation in Sindh without full authority. After his retirement, his successor Asif Nawaz, for some unknown reason, agreed to undertake the operation in Sindh under the present powers given to the army. In the beginning, the results were encouraging but later the army itself got mired in the situation. General Asif's three colleagues had advised him not to undertake the operation without full authority.

S.M. Muneer invited Sindh's chief minister on more than two occasions to meet with businessmen and hear from their lips accounts of Karachi's sad situation. But the chief minister has not met with them so far. Businessmen then requested the prime minister to meet them during her visit to Karachi in order to find a way to save Karachi from drowning in the sea of lawlessness; but the prime minister was so busy with "outside affairs" that she could not see the fire raging in her own house. When no response came from any side and the authorities severed human and social bonds and ignored the sobs and sighs of the people of Karachi, the leader of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry appealed to the president of the country to save Karachi from further ruin and release it from the clutches of anti-social elements by giving the army authority under article 245.

The chairman of the Federation told the journalists that in spite of its disturbed circumstances, Karachi provides 70 per cent of the federal revenue and that if the situation in Karachi was improved, it could support the country and the entire nation. In view of the fact that the city is on the verge of destruction and innocent people are being murdered, the appeal to increase the powers of the army is quite timely and the government and all serious individuals should pay attention to it. It is necessary to reveal another fact regarding the law and order situation: the Japanese ambassador has advised his government not to invest in Pakistan because the country's largest city and its show window, Karachi, is under the control of anti-social elements and local capital is seeking investment in other areas; that it would be advisable to invest in countries where the rule of law exists and the people conduct business in security. It is interesting to note that American investment so far has been on paper only and not a single dollar has been spent in Pakistan.

Need for Islamic Laws Emphasized

95AS01334 Karachi JANG in Urdu 19 Nov 94 p 3

[Article by Liaqat Ali Khurshid Nishan: "Need to Implement Islamic Laws"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is a proven principle in the world that every law is based on a system, and Islamic law is based on the Koran. The people in our country want an Islamic government with Shariat laws. This country was based on Islamic principles; however, the people of this country have been deprived of a religion-based rule to this day. The souls of the leaders who sacrificed their lives to found this country and those who were martyred for Pakistan are restlessly waiting for the day when Islam and Shariat are implemented here. When will this government be established in our country? The mujahids, who are bent upon establishing Shariat rule; the people, who are not afraid of bullets because of their love for Islam; and the students, who learn religion from the primary level, will all be prepared to defeat those who block the implementation of an Islamic government. No power in the world will be able to stop them. When this caravan begins to move, it will never turn back.

We have been following the law of the jungle, the law of the looters and the looted, the law of hatred, the law of prejudice, and the law of the rich and the law of the British. Those who sing songs of democracy are ridiculing it themselves. Islamic law is practical, and brightens the minds and hearts of humans. When the roots of one's beliefs are strong, the prescription of crime and punishment becomes stronger. Later, its influence as mediator automatically emerges in public and individually. The British law starts on the surface, then stops there; the inner mind is not affected. In contrast, the basic goal of Islamic laws is to support the religious person and punish the atheist. Islam is a practical system of life. It does not fight against nature; it coordinates with it. It should be remembered fully that Muslims do not make Islamic laws; Islamic laws make Muslims. A Muslim remains a Muslim by following Islamic laws.

The people also have some responsibility for implementing Shariat and protecting it. No law can survive just because of its qualities or respect for them. It becomes stronger because of respect and faith in it, and by those who practice it. Implementation of Shariat and Islam are closely related. They are related in the same way that there is no difference between fasts, Haj, worship, and religious texts. Islam is a complete religion, and the name of a holistic living style. This religion is cannot be amended or dismissed until the end of the world.

Islam is based on the Koran and its law is related to the Muslims. The Sharia laws are defined by the Muslims and, in fact, Muslims have been defined by these laws, and are molded by it. A Muslim becomes Muslim only

by completely supporting the Shariat. The implementation of Shariat helps establish a totally Islamic form of government. The main goal of Islamic laws is to stop atrocities and unfair practices. More so, the goal is to help humans and to guide them.

The British law tries to reach its goals through justice, fairness, mercy, humanity, peace, and quiet. Islamic laws' first steps start there. The social laws of Islam are neither incomplete nor are these developed gradually. They have always been complete, and will remain fundamentally complete. Neither the worshiping habits of Muslims, nor their laws will change. It is not just our duty to follow these laws, but a question of following honesty and truth.

In our country, the law is limited to taking bribes and a criminal becomes innocent if he uses personal contacts. Under this law, every act that whatever helps the majority is considered proper, whether it is contrary to morals or against humanity.

Implementation of Shariat will affect a healthy society. This society will support justice, peace, and harmony. Which section of the society will come forward to prove it? The group that considers religion to be opium, or the group that considers humans an economic animal or descendants of the monkey?

We must compare the goals and results of Islamic social laws and other laws in the world for fairness in imparting justice to the people and search our conscience and vote courageously for what is right. The Jewish forces and foreign lobbies are afraid of Islam, and our leaders are also turning away from the truth.

Corruption Seen Widespread in Balochistan95AS0133E Karachi AKHIBAR-E-JEHAN in Urdu
21 Nov 94 p 15

[Article by Dr. Chusti Mujahid: "When Will Corruption End in Balochistan?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Now that there are major confrontations between the government and opposition members in the National Assembly and the state assemblies, and all these legislative assemblies have turned into wrestling arenas, all parliamentary traditions and respect for these assemblies have been destroyed.

The Pakistani people have seen their elected members throwing chairs at each other and hitting each other in the assemblies. Balochistan has the only one [state assembly] in the country where this kind of confrontation between the government and the opposition is absent. We have not seen any non-parliamentary scenes in this assembly. Perhaps one major reason for this is that in Balochistan, unlike the Center and other states where the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) has set up governments, the Muslim League (Nawaz group) (PML-N) has established the government here. It has the support of 26 assembly members out of a total of 43. In

other words, the opposition here is very weak. However, we still cannot deny the fact that during the last year in the Balochistan assembly the opposition has played a major and respectful role according to parliamentary tradition. During this year, once or twice, the members of the opposition—Sarwar Khan Kakar and Sadiq Umrani—did show some extraordinary zeal, and the speaker had to order them to leave the house. They obeyed the order immediately, without thinking about whether they were at fault or not. Later, they apologized to the speaker. The major reason for members of the Balochistan assembly adopting this polite attitude toward parliamentary protocol is that the assembly members know well in their minds that Balochistan is a very sensitive state. If any member of their assembly swore or threw a chair or a tomato, the result would be the firing of kalashnikovs in the assembly.

Balochistan is the only state where neither was an opposition assembly member arrested on political grounds, nor was any case registered against any of them. Their development funds were not cut, either. We wish that such an environment of cooperation and collaboration could be established nationwide. What happened in the joint session of the National Assembly when President Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari addressed it resulted in turmoil raised by the opposition has influenced politics in Balochistan. On 16 November, the opposition there scheduled a program to show its prowess, but it postponed this demonstration. In this context, Malik Sarwar Khan Kakar, leader of the Muslim League (Junejo group) [PML-J], organized an enormous public meeting at Peshin, 32 miles from Quetta. All arrangements for this public meeting were completed, and Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto was to address the meeting; however, because of the new developments, she canceled her trip to Balochistan. She is planning to visit in the last week of November. At the time, Malik Sarwar Khan Kakar, the Muslim League (Junejo group) assembly member and state minister for political affairs, is planning to demonstrate the full strength of his party and the opposition.

The zeal and tumult that were raised because of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's visit to Balochistan have cooled because of her change in plans, and political circles are completely quiet now. Nawab Mohammed Abdul Khan Bagti, leader of the Jamhuri Watan Party, tried to create some political action by issuing statements at Dera Bagti, which is hundreds of miles from Quetta. Senator Dr. Abdul Hai, leader of the Balochistan National Movement [BNM] Party, is seen raising his voice in support of rights for the Balochis. Sardar Akhtar Maingal, leader of the BNM (Maingal group), is in London visiting his father and prominent Balochi leader, Sardar Ita Allah Maingal. It is being said in political circles that Sardar Akhtar Maingal is visiting London to convince his father to return to the political arena again. The reason for this is that the sons of prominent Balochi leaders Nawab Khair Baksh Murry and Nawabzada Changez Murry are also insisting that their fathers return

to the political arena. A long time has passed since Sardar Ita Allah Maingal and Nawab Khair Baksh Murry quit politics. Nawab Khair Baksh Murry often invites intellectuals and politicians to his home and discusses opinions with them, just to fulfill his political hobby. As for Sardar Ita Allah Maingal, he has been quiet for a long time.

Because of this total quiet in the political atmosphere, state ministers and assembly members are focusing all their attention on corruption and other misdeeds in Balochistan. At this time, state ministers, assembly members, and politicians are discussing this corruption in the state. It is true that all the misdeeds, corruption and "commission" paid here just cannot be ignored. It is well known about Balochistan that only 20 percent of development funds are actually spent on development; the other 80 percent of the money is used for "commissions" and other unlawful acts. One can guess how bad corruption is in the state from the fact that when the former Chief Minister of Balochistan, Nawab Akbar Bagti, established a commission under the chairmanship of Justice (retired) Abdul Rashid to investigate various development funds managed by assembly members, the commission presented the surprising news that of the 40 assembly members, 39 had misappropriated these funds. During that time, Senator Mir Javed Maingal, BNM parliamentary leader in the Senate, expressed great concern about the misappropriation in various developmental projects in the state, and accused that in Quetta, a regular looting and corruption program was being carried out in the name of beautification of the city. All the developmental programs being carried out in the city were defective. After a few months, these projects became rubble. Meanwhile, Sheikh Jaffer Khan, finance minister of Balochistan, said that the government of Balochistan has taken strict notice of the National Highway Authority and its defective work, and of the loss of millions of rupees. The work of the National Highway Authority in Balochistan is very flawed. In one year, they changed four general managers. The officers are involved in various negotiations, and the money reserved for road construction is spent on stopping their transfers. Road repair in Balochistan is nominal, and roads built with the help of the World Bank do not function for even two months. He said that the president and the prime minister are aware of the ineffective performance of these departments in Balochistan.

Because of the corruption of developmental projects in the state, the Bolan Medical College complex has become the largest building scandal in Pakistan's history. This plan, which was projected in 1973 to cost 77.5 million rupees, has already cost 1.93 billion rupees. If this project is not completed by June 1995, an additional 1.3 billion rupees will be spent on it. This will be fatal for the project. The Senate Functional Committee visited this project under the leadership of Senator Fazal Agha. The committee composed of Senator Sheikh Rafiq Ahmed, Senator Imdad Ali Aiwan, Senator Manzoor Ahmed Gachki, and Senator Hajji Abdul Rahman was told that

caretaker Prime Minister Moeen Qureshi had announced a grant of 50 million rupees for building this complex on 12 October 1993; however, this grant was never released. Similarly, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto also announced a grant of 50 million rupees on 6 February 1994 in Kosi for the Bolan Medical College complex. She has not provided this money either. During the 1993-94 fiscal year, only 38 million rupees of the 75 million that were appropriated were given to this project. Mr. Varkon, the project director, told the Senate committee that the contractor given the original contract for the Bolan Medical College complex was to finish the project for 75 million rupees. It has been claimed that the government owes him 250 million rupees, which, including the 160 million rupees in interest, adds up to 410 million rupees. He should be paid this amount. On principle, the contractor should be fined for not finishing the project on time. He said that this is the biggest construction scandal in Pakistan's history, and that sub-engineers to Cabinet members are all involved in it and should be investigated. During this hearing, the Senate committee was told that the foundation of the hospital in the complex is very weak. Its roof has cracks, and it has been built on land which is in a dangerous earthquake zone. There is also fear that this building will crumble without an earthquake. The Senate committee inspected the construction work at the hospital and expressed dissatisfaction about it. But after spending millions and billions of rupees, no action has been taken against the people responsible. Everyone seems to be asking someone else when the corruption in Balochistan will be stopped.

Punjab: Political Confrontations Increase

95AS0136D Karachi JANG in Urdu 21 Nov 94
Supplement p 11

[Article by Khaled Kashmiri: "Political Confrontation Is Steadily Increasing In Punjab"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As in other parts of the country, in Punjab and its capital, Lahore, grave concern is being expressed in political and public circles over Pakistan's failure to present the Kashmir resolution at the meeting of the United Nations. The public is pointing out the fact that the government had made much noise about presenting a resolution on the Kashmir issue in the UN. The information was publicized in all branches of the media and a delegation which included the leader of the National Kashmir Committee, Nawabzadah Nasrullah Khan, was sent to the UN to establish contact with other countries. The people were waiting for the resolution to be presented to the UN; they were disappointed when it was announced that Pakistan was not going to do so.

Not only was there concern expressed in public circles but the news provided the opposition with an issue. The largest opposition party in the country led by Nawaz Sharif was already holding protest demonstrations and meetings under the name of Tehrik-I-Nijat [salvation

movement]; the opposition leaders played the non-presentation of the Kashmir issue for all it was worth. They made statements aimed at convincing the people that the government was not serious and sincere in its efforts to solve the Kashmir problem. Sharif even said openly that the present government had dealt a serious blow to the Kashmir cause. The Muslim League Nawaz Group [PML-N] said that Benazir's invitation to Sharif to lead the Pakistani delegation to the UN was prompted by the evil motive of laying the blame for the government's ignominious failure on Sharif. The opposition is determined to make full use of the situation created by the resolution issue and hence it has called the withdrawal of the Kashmir resolution by Sharif a [government] conspiracy. There is a strange rumour afoot that preparations are being made in expectation of the fall of Kashmir but that before that event takes place, the present government will fall. At the same time, Sharif has promised unconditional cooperation with all political parties including Qazi Hussain Ahmad's Jamaat-I-Islami [JI] to achieve this aim. This action on his part shows that Sharif has adopted the policy of bringing together as many parties as possible in the movement against the government. Vice chairman of Jamaat-I-Islami, Amir Chaudhry Rahmat Illahi, has also said that the withdrawal of the Kashmir resolution had disappointed Pakistanis and Kashmiris. Sharif and his Muslim League leaders made inflammatory statements against the government but only one individual answered them; Chief minister Mian Manzoor Ahmad Watoo said that Sharif and his colleagues could not bear the shock of defeat and were cutting down democracy's sapling with the axe of protest. One cannot say to what extent Watoo will be proved correct in his statement that Sharif's colleagues were deserting him.

While the confrontation between the government and the opposition was in progress, the date of the opening session of the Punjab assembly drew near and the opposition party in the Punjab assembly decided to participate in the meeting. But political and public circles continued to express fear that the opening session of the provincial assembly would be a stormy one. A day before the assembly meeting, provincial Chief Minister Watoo made it clear in his statement that the dignity of the elected assembly and its members would be preserved at all cost and that the ruling party wished to hold the assembly meeting in an atmosphere of understanding and adherence to parliamentary traditions. However, on the day of the meeting, the arrest of Sharif's father, Mian Mohammad Sharif threw oil on the smouldering politics of the province and Punjab, and in particular its capital, Lahore, erupted like a volcano. Mian Mohammad Sharif was arrested in the morning and the assembly meeting, which was held in the evening of the same day, resembled a battle field. Without asking the speaker's permission, the vice chairman of the opposition party, Chaudhry Parvez Illahi, started to read a resolution

concerning the arrest of Mohammad Sharif and obviously condemning the government's action. The opposition and ruling party members confronted each other and soon the assembly resembled a fish market. The noise was ear-splitting; each called the other thief. The opposition members refused to honor the decision of the assembly majority; they stood on the benches and threw agendas into the air. They roared slogans as though welcoming a leader in a large public gathering. While all this was going on, the speaker started the question period and the opposition members left their seats and moved near the speaker's chair. Some of them climbed on the tables of the secretariat reporters.

Then, for the first time in a Punjab assembly, members of the opposition party threw tomatoes at the speaker. It appeared that these members had planned ahead of time to bring tomatoes to the assembly whose dignity forbade even unnecessary common pens to be brought into the chamber secretly. Seeing the disorder in the assembly, the speaker called a short recess and left the hall. A new chapter was then added to the history of the assembly when a hand to hand fight started among the representatives of the people. The chamber resounded with cries of "lota tah" [reference to toilets in Punjabi] and untimely calls for prayer by opposition member Fazal Karim. Chief minister Watoo was not present at the meeting. According to provincial Minister of Law, Chaudhry Mohammad Farooq, opposition members destroyed assembly traditions by using foul language after the meeting. The minister was of the view that the opposition should have been carried out of the assembly but that the ruling party did not want to use force.

While the members of the ruling party and the opposition got into a fight inside the assembly over Mohammad Sharif's arrest, outside the assembly ladies of the Pakistan Muslim League held a protest demonstration under the leadership of Begum Mehnaz Rafi. Chief minister Watoo took everyone by surprise when he told journalists in his office on the same day that all he knew about the matter was that the FIA had arrested Mohammad Sharif and that he, Watoo, could not comment further because he did not know the details. In regard to the arrest, he said that several charges had been brought against Nawaz Sharif but that the government did not intend to arrest him at the present time.

Muslim League Nawaz group is holding protest demonstrations in Lahore against Mohammad Sharif's arrest; the group is burning tires on the roads to halt traffic and is also encouraging the firing of deadly weapons by demonstrators. The demonstrators have also been surrounding police employees and beating them up severely. Such actions are paving the way to direct clashes with the authorities in charge of maintaining law and order and will prove dangerous for the opposition party. According to the latest reports, although the government has released Mohammad Sharif, there has been no official announcement of the cessation of protest demonstrations by the opposition party.

Meanwhile, the Punjab assembly continues to hold its meetings and might do so for a few more days. The opposition members, on the orders of their high command, attend the meetings wearing black arm bands. Judging by the situation, there appears to be no end to political confrontation in the province in the near future.

Sharif Chastised for Giving Army Advice

95AS0133B Karachi JANG in Urdu 27 Nov 94 p 3

[Editorial: "Don't Advise the Army—Mind Yourself!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mian Nawaz Sharif, the opposition leader, has expressed his desire that the commanders of the armed forces not allow Benazir Bhutto to use their agencies. He said that they should avoid letting the military become involved in such non-military affairs as Karachi, Malakand, and Bajaura. He said that this is a conspiracy against the military. The next day, while talking to newsmen in Lahore, he said that Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto is taking revenge against the military and the judiciary. She is taking revenge against the legal system, he said, for punishing her father. He said she is taking revenge against the armed forces by using them in Karachi, Bajaura, and other places. Nawaz said that bogus cases have been registered against the opposition.

Opposition leader Mian Nawaz Sharif's attitude gives us the impression that Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto is using the armed forces for her own political goals. In other words, the military is directly involved in aiding the government's political goals. Nawaz Sharif's stand is on one side, and General Abdul Wahid, commander in chief of the army, has stated that the armed forces have no other role except that provided by the Constitution. Every person should do his own job. The army supports an elected government in a democratic system. If we look at this clearly, it means that Mian Nawaz Sharif has expressed ill will toward the armed forces, and has accused a democratically elected government falsely. Constitutionally and legally, the army is called in to help the civilian government as needed. This is also the military's constitutional role. Opposed to this, overthrowing a democratic government is not part of the armed forces' constitutional duty. In 1992, during Mian Nawaz Sharif's rule, a military operation was started in Sindh. Did not Mian Nawaz Sharif use the military for his political goals? Only he can answer this question. This is regrettable since the leaders of the armed forces have explained repeatedly that the military is neither involved in politics, nor will it be, and that it will only fulfill the role given by the Constitution. Some opposition leaders, at times directly and at others indirectly, have hinted that the armed forces are involved in politics. The opposition leader has not only expressed ill will toward the armed forces leadership, but has also attacked the legal system by saying that the courts do not impart law now, and that Benazir Bhutto is avenging her father's death on it. This way, he has not shown respect

for the higher courts. Spreading ill will against the military and the legal system, advising them, and expressing doubts and suspicions about them is not an appropriate act, and there seems to be no reason for it. The unfortunate confrontation between the government and the opposition should be ended by cooperation among the politicians. This is their own domestic issue, and they should take care of their home. They should give up the habit of not practicing what they preach. If

the politicians straighten out their affairs, then they will not need to advise the armed forces or accuse the legal system. We would like to advise the government and the opposition to give up their confrontation and pay attention to the responsibilities given to them by the people. They should try to resolve the issues. If the politicians do not straighten out their affairs, then they will not feel the need to give advice to the armed forces, or to attack the courts.

This is a U.S. Government publication. Its contents in no way represent the policies, views, or attitudes of the U.S. Government. Users of this publication may cite FBIS or JPRS provided they do so in a manner clearly identifying them as the secondary source.

Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) and Joint Publications Research Service (JPRS) publications contain political, military, economic, environmental, and sociological news, commentary, and other information, as well as scientific and technical data and reports. All information has been obtained from foreign radio and television broadcasts, news agency transmissions, newspapers, books, and periodicals. Items generally are processed from the first or best available sources. It should not be inferred that they have been disseminated only in the medium, in the language, or to the area indicated. Items from foreign language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed. Except for excluding certain diacritics, FBIS renders personal names and place-names in accordance with the romanization systems approved for U.S. Government publications by the U.S. Board of Geographic Names.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by FBIS/JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpts] in the first line of each item indicate how the information was processed from the original. Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear from the original source but have been supplied as appropriate to the context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by the source. Passages in boldface or italics are as published.

SUBSCRIPTION/PROCUREMENT INFORMATION

The FBIS DAILY REPORT contains current news and information and is published Monday through Friday in eight volumes: China, East Europe, Central Eurasia, East Asia, Near East & South Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and West Europe. Supplements to the DAILY REPORTs may also be available periodically and will be distributed to regular DAILY REPORT subscribers. JPRS publications, which include approximately 50 regional, worldwide, and topical reports, generally contain less time-sensitive information and are published periodically.

Current DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications are listed in *Government Reports Announcements* issued semimonthly by the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), 5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield, Virginia 22161 and the *Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications* issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

The public may subscribe to either hardcover or microfiche versions of the DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications through NTIS at the above address or by calling (703) 487-4630. Subscription rates will be

provided by NTIS upon request. Subscriptions are available outside the United States from NTIS or appointed foreign dealers. New subscribers should expect a 30-day delay in receipt of the first issue.

U.S. Government offices may obtain subscriptions to the DAILY REPORTs or JPRS publications (hardcover or microfiche) at no charge through their sponsoring organizations. For additional information or assistance, call FBIS, (202) 338-6735, or write to P.O. Box 2604, Washington, D.C. 20013. Department of Defense consumers are required to submit requests through appropriate command validation channels to DIA, RTS-2C, Washington, D.C. 20301. (Telephone: (202) 373-3771, Autovon: 243-3771.)

Back issues or single copies of the DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications are not available. Both the DAILY REPORTs and the JPRS publications are on file for public reference at the Library of Congress and at many Federal Depository Libraries. Reference copies may also be seen at many public and university libraries throughout the United States.

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

12 Jan 95